

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

THE RACE TO BANKRUPTCY

Madness of Mounting Arms Expenditure

By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

SIR JOHN SIMON asked the House of Commons on Monday to approve a resolution increasing to £800,000,000 the amount which the Government may borrow for rearmament and other measures under the Defence Loans Act. Labour spokesmen made no fundamental criticism of the policy which has led to this prospect of a heavy increase to the nation's already staggering burden of debt.

Mr. George Lansbury, MP, who was eighty on Tuesday, one of the small band of pacifist MPs who almost alone urge that Britain should refuse to take part in the arms race, gives below his views on the policy of "spending our earnings in this mad way."

(A comment on the debate in Parliament by our Lobby Correspondent, James H. Hudson, appears on page 2).

THE Government and the House of later Parliament would almost unanimously agree to such colossal expenditure on war preparations as is the case today. The change has come through fear, the most deadly enemy of the human race, to outpace and outdo the totalitarian States in the madcap race once described as "Rattling into Barbarism."

We pacifists cannot at the moment prevent this policy being adopted. Our gospel of peace by removing the causes of war is not as yet generally accepted, though I am certain it is daily gaining converts.

Those who accept force, violence and war cannot complain of the action of the Government in asking for this huge sum of £800,000,000. If they fear war and believe it can only be averted by armaments then the nation must pay the bill.

We pacifists cannot complain if those who think that way and are supported by a majority of the nation spend our earnings in this mad way. Our great task is to convert our neighbours and friends to the principles of life and action which we believe will avert the danger of war and give the nations a chance to use their scientific and inventive genius and labour power in the most useful job of all—raising the standard of life of peoples of the world.

Effect of Fear

During my lifetime, in company with many others, it has been my painful experience to watch how easily nations slip into the way of accepting situations previously considered as impossible.

Nobody at the General Election in 1935 imagined for a moment that three years

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Eighty Years Young!



Congratulations from all over the world—"but very few from politicians," as he himself confessed—poured in at the East End home of George Lansbury, Grand Old Man of the Labour and pacifist movements, when he celebrated his eightieth birthday on Tuesday.

Increasing age has not dimmed Mr. Lansbury's faith in the pacifist message, nor the tireless enthusiasm with which he carries it throughout the land.

Their First Square Meal!

UNEMPLOYED GUESTS OF PACIFISTS

£523,000,000

—the total of the Estimates for the Forces for the coming year, is
About 7 times as much as we spent on the Forces in 1913;
A little more than we spent in 5 years (1930—1934) before the rearmament programme;
About 4,180 times as much as Britain's yearly contribution to the League.

With £523,000,000 we could carry out many social reforms. It would, for instance, be enough money to
Pay £5 a week more for the coming year to all the unemployed; or
Pay the cost of all our existing social services and still leave some over; or
Build nearly 700,000 houses at £750 each; or

Distribute free food (such as bread and milk) to the value of £10 per head of the population for the year.

Read the trade returns and you will find all nations are doing some trade with each other without regard to forms of government. We know, and that is why we desire a conference, that a much more intensive trade drive on altogether new lines is needed.

So comrades, although we are unable at the moment to stop the mad race toward war, it is possible for us to continue our work for appeasement by declaring, whenever opportunity comes our way, our faith in peace based on international cooperation. Though this seems a long way off, never forget there is nothing static in life, opinions or anything else.

(Continued on back page)

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT : : By James Hudson



"Red Light for Civilization" : : Partners of Whitehall, Fleet Street and the City : : Fight or Trade

A If there is not enough trouble brewing in Europe, some Members of the House of Commons have recently to that effect.

grown increasingly angry about the situation in the Far East. Last week there was a chorus of strident demands, mostly from the benches behind the Government, for stronger British action against the Japanese.

Sir John Wardlaw-Milne put in a claim for a British warship and a landing force to deal with the occupation of Hainan. That seemed quite modest, when one considers that these forces would have to meet whole squadrons of the Japanese naval and air forces.

Captain Graham, a little more practical though hardly less truculent, wanted collaboration with France for the expulsion of the Japanese. Getting no encouragement from the Government on this proposal, he suggested, as an alternative, the scrapping of the Anglo-Japanese Trade Treaty of 1911.

The only weapon which brings any satisfaction, he asserted, is some form of retaliatory action. But the Government would have none of it; and Mr. Butler told the questioner that he could not "regard that as the only method of achieving useful results."

Mr. Butler is to be complimented on his reply. But it scarcely looks as if the Government shares his optimism.

£250 millions out of this year's revenue for arms, and another £350 millions for the same purpose put on to the backs of posterity do not leave much scope for faith in anything better than naked force. The financial programme reads more like an epitaph than a forecast of progress. Mr. Andrew MacLaren called it "the red light for civilization in Europe."

General Election?

THE reactions of the Press and the City to the announcement of the Government's proposed addition of £800 millions to the National Debt have been very curious.

The Chancellor was at pains to explain to the House last Monday that the inability to raise now £800 millions out of revenue was not a financial crisis, but that a deficit of about £800 millions in 1931 was a financial crisis. No-one believed it, of course, least of all the City.

For a few hours after it became known about the £800 millions there was much disturbed comment in Fleet Street and equally disturbed buying and selling on the Stock Exchange. The necessary Governmental inspiration had not percolated. But soon all was merry and bright once more.

The Press Departments of the Foreign Office and the Treasury understand their job; and it is wonderful how the City plays up to them, provided they are not acting on behalf of a Government of the Left. In the game of Devil pull Baker, now being played between Britain and Hitler, "our money strength, our British character and faith must be equal to the strain." At least, that is how the jargon of the House of Commons puts it.

This means, of course, that British character is equal to the strain of pretending that borrowing millions is as advantageous to us as to Hitler it is bound to be disastrous.

It needs no special qualities of prophecy to foresee that what's sauce for the German goose will prove ultimately sauce for the British gander. But for the present, good behaviour on the part of the City is the grand need of the politicians. It was as plain as a pikestaff, after Sir John Simon had announced that only £230 millions of the increased arms expenditure would be borne out of revenue, that a General Election is not far off.

Actually, revenue will bear less by £44 millions of the cost of "defence" than last year. It looks as if the people are to be allowed to stick to beer, cocktails and their income tax for a little longer, until the final settlement is drawn up. As Mr. Baldwin so movingly said about armaments

programmes, one has to be careful about getting ready to hurl at our enemies is a jected efforts of the Federation of British Industries in Germany, he said the evils

were too great to be dealt with sectionally in that way. Van Zeeland had shown how the nations could be got together in a common effort to share the world's resources and markets.

Propaganda "War"

THE foregoing reflections on the niceties of the partnership of Fleet Street, the City and Whitehall give point to some of the things said in the debate on the Dissemination of News.

It was said in the Great War that the first name which ought to have appeared daily on the huge casualty lists was that of Truth. The batteries of Fleet Street, fed by the munitions of the Official Press Bureau, rarely missed their mark.

Apparently the War has already started all the money now being spent on digging again; and Mr. Grant-Ferris called on the House to reply to the propaganda of foreign Governments in kind. £500,000 was a continuance of certain principles of inter-

"fantastically" small sum, he said, to be national relationship, they could not and

spending on "defence" of this kind. It would not do otherwise than the Govern-

ment was not as much as the cost of a destroyer

ment.

"We ought to make." That was of course the challenge of the

he claimed, "a deliberate projection of our-

selves and our Empire in a dignified way."

Then Mr. Lansbury went on to show that

the other dignified projectiles we are he did not accept it. Referring to the pro-

Mr. Montague was more courageous and said that if we stood by accuracy and an honourable statement of our own case, when we were attacked, truth would win in the long run. But, then, Mr. Montague, that would not be war!

G. L. and Van Zeeland

IN the debate on Unemployment, Mr. Lansbury returned to the charge that

Lansbury returned to the charge that apparently the War has already started all the money now being spent on digging

in the trenches were mere madness. Yet, even if

the Labour Party were in power, given the

700,000 people to work by means of the

additional £175 millions which the Govern-

ment was spending on "defence"?

It is no wonder that Mr. MacLaren

despairingly told the House last Monday

night: "All that we have dreamt of is

damned and we are going down like the

Gadarene swine to destruction.

"Only men with singular faith in the

goodness of mankind can stop it."

From the Editor's Notebook

New Headquarters for P.P.U. : Prominent Recruit for Pacifism : Youth Activities

"Peace News" Offices,
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

THROUGH known chiefly today for his many publications, mostly of a scientific nature, HENRY HAVELOCK ELLIS, who writes on page 5 of this issue, has not

for defence indicated, in MR. CHAMBERLAIN's own words, that there is "some-

thing like general agreement as to the

necessity for the armaments programme."

It was nevertheless to a long series of

speeches (whose tone only confirmed the

virtual unanimity) that MR. T. EDMUND HARVEY had to listen for five hours before

he was able to catch the eye of the Chair-

man (the House was "in Committee") and

present the pacifist point of view. This he

did in an admirable, short speech, in which

he took up MR. CHAMBERLAIN's reference to

a possible world conference and his quota-

tion of the late LOAN GREY's remark that

suspicion led to a race in arms. MR. HARVEY begged the PREMIER to revise his

pessimistic view of the chances of a con-

ference and recalled the War-time Foreign

Secretary's further comment that it was

the growth of arms that caused the War.

THOUGH known chiefly today for his

many publications, mostly of a scientific

nature, HENRY HAVELOCK ELLIS, who

writes on page 5 of this issue, has not

always been engaged in such work. As

many as 60 years ago he left New South

Wales, where he had been teaching, and

qualified in this country as a medical man.

It was quite soon after that, however, that

his interest in literature and scientific work

caused him to give up his practice. The

bulk of his writing has been concerned

with the study of sex, but after the War

(during which he had published a volume

of essays) he wrote *The Philosophy of*

Conflict, and other Essays.

His interest in and knowledge of Spain

has been reflected in at least two of his

books: *The Soul of Spain*, written more

than 30 years ago, and *Sonnets with Folk*

Songs from the Spanish, published in 1925.

Pacifist Movement's Gain

A NOTABLE recruit to the ranks of the

Peace Pledge Union (and incidentally

to one of the Christian pacifist groups, the

Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellow-

ship) is MR. GEORGE GILBERT ARMSTRONG.

When he addressed the last Autumn meet-

ing of the London District Provincial

Assembly of the Unitarian Church as its

President, his friends were struck by his

remark that though in 1917 he "sincerely

believed . . . we could not have done other-

wise than repel force by force," he had

changed his mind since that time.

That, by the way, was on September 28,

but it was well after the crisis that his

looked-for explanation appeared in the

Unitarian weekly, *The Inquirer*, and con-

cluded: "I do not know what the disciple

of Jesus meant when he said the 'perfect

love casteth out fear,' but I do know that

for me there is an end of trying to cast it

out by armaments."

Now, by joining the Peace Pledge Union,

he has declared: "I renounce war and I

will never support or sanction another."

And in his latest article in *The Inquirer*

but I hope I shall be able to find space soon

to publish this eminent journalist's testi-

mony in full.

MR. ARMSTRONG has been on the editorial

staffs of newspapers in Liverpool, Notting-

ham, Bradford, Bolton, London and else-

where. He was on the old *Morning Leader*

and later editor of the *Northern Echo* from

1904 to 1908. From 1921 to 1923 he was

Assistant Editor of the *Daily News*. One

of his books was *Our Ultimate Aim in the*

War.

THE possibility of a national campaign to win youth for peace service has been interesting a number of the younger members of the Peace Pledge Union for some time now. Though the attraction of young people to pacifism is apparently envisaged as one outcome, I gather there is a feeling that the younger members of the PPU are asking for something that they specially (if not they alone) can do and that need is not being met.

It may be that my judgment is warped by vested interests, in that I hope they will get on to the streets, or on to the doorstep with *Peace News*. But I certainly have an impression not only that there is plenty of service for young people, but that most of what is already being done is being done by the young members of the PPU.

Nor am I only thinking of "twenties to thirties." Here is a letter which the Chairman of the PPU received from MICHAEL JONES, of Handsworth, Birmingham, not long ago:

"My friends and I have formed a peace club, because we are too young to join the Peace Pledge Union. Most of us are Cub members of the Sandwell Scout troop and we do not want to fight our brothers in other countries.

"We help the Sandwell PPU group by distributing leaflets. We have collected two shillings for the Peace Pledge Union, and I hope it will be of good use to you."

Not all young people can show such material returns for their efforts! But at any rate it shows they are keen and anxious to be of some assistance, however indirectly, in however small a way.

In my own mail the other day was a parody beginning: "The minstrel boy has joined the PPU." No doubt the poet boy (and girl)—KENNETH DUN, aged fifteen, and his ten-year-old sister, MARGARET, of Tottenham, London—will follow his example in due course.

Another 15-year-old poet, at a well-known public school in the south of England, has sent me some very free verse about air raid precautions. It would be interesting to know what the English master for whom it was made up as "set work" thought of it!

And I have just had from ROBERT MORGAN, a 12-year-old Rye (Sussex) boy, an article consisting of a few loosely strung together, but quite interesting, thoughts, including this: "You can see how well the last war ended all wars. One war will lead to another unless a barricade of disarmament is put in between." An excellent way of putting it, I think.

Where Are We Heading?

INSTEAD of wasting time on water-

A CALL TO WORLD LABOUR

How to Help the Refugees

A VALUABLE leaflet entitled *Helping Refugees—Do you know what to do?* has been issued by the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, the contents of which are reproduced below. The address of all the organizations marked with an asterisk is Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

The various forms of aid are shown in the first column, and the appropriate addresses are given opposite each item, in the second column.

IF YOU WANT TO GIVE:

Help to Non-Aryan Christians to leave Germany (including guarantee of support while waiting to emigrate); Similar help to Jews in Germany; Similar help to Germans or Czechs in Czechoslovakia; Similar help to Jews in Poland; Hospitality to an adult; Hospitality to, or adopt, a child; A job to a craftsman, technician, linguist, &c.;

*Germany Emergency Committee.

*German Jewish Aid Committee. *British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, 5 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1. Polish Refugee Fund, 33 Soho Square, W.1. *Hospitality Committee. *World Movement for Care of Children from Germany, British Central Committee. *Germany Emergency Committee.

IF YOU WANT TO ENGAGE:

A maid, companion or domestic couple; A speaker for a meeting; In work in Scotland; Money for Non-Aryan Christians; Money for Jews; A 1s. toward emigrating a refugee; A house and land, or money for training refugees in agriculture; Help to a student; Help to one who has held a University post.

*Domestic Bureau. *Coordinating Committee. Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.

*Christian Council for Refugees from Germany; or Germany Emergency Committee. Council for German Jewry, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1. Quaker Shifting Emigration Fund, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. *Germany Emergency Committee.

*International Student Service. Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, 6 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

IF YOU WANT TO CONTRIBUTE:

Christian Council for Refugees from Germany; or Germany Emergency Committee. Council for German Jewry, Woburn House, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1. Quaker Shifting Emigration Fund, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. *Germany Emergency Committee.

Strength of Pacifism in French Trades Unions

U.S. OPPOSITION TO ARMS INCREASE

"In making France our eastern frontier we are repeating the tragic experience of 1917 to 18," says the American National Council for Prevention of War. Asking if "we are going to make the same mistake again" the Council urges people to write to their Congressman and Senators stating their opposition to the huge increases in the military budget and to the new foreign policy.

The Council also urges them to support a world economic conference.

Assistance for Child Victims in Spain

Miss Alice Sportisse, who has been working in Central Spain as the representative of the International Children's Office and the Youth Foodship Committee of the British Youth Peace Assembly, has submitted a report on the urgent need for increasing the supplies of milk and food sent to that area.

On March 11 and 12, representatives of European Youth Organizations engaged on this work of humanitarian assistance to refugees and war victims, will meet in Rheims to compare their methods of work and plan its extension.

SUPPORT for pacifism was shown to be a factor of some importance in the French trade union movement by the speeches at a banquet held on Saturday by the trade union newspaper *Syndicats*.

The speech of M. Delmas, Secretary-General of the Teachers' Union, was notable for a refusal to consider the idea of a general war and a declaration that mediation was the only possible solution. M. Delmas defended the Munich Agreement and added that it would be difficult to maintain an intransigent attitude toward colonial claims on France.

NEED FOR COLLABORATION

On the other hand, the receipt of new territory would not remove Italy's difficulties. What was needed, he urged, was a policy of economic collaboration instead of economic hostility.

A report from Paris indicates that the trade union movement, like the Socialist Party, is split over the question of resistance to totalitarian claims.

M. Blum is the leader of a majority of the Socialists which declares that once a certain limit of concession is reached the democracies should resist further claims, by arms if necessary. An important minority, led by M. Paul Faure, believes that no price is too high to pay for peace.

Lead Nations to Remove Causes of War

N.Z. PREMIER URGES A WORLD CONFERENCE

URGING the need for a conference of all nations to discuss world economic problems as a way to establish peace on a lasting basis, Mr. M. J. Savage, New Zealand's Premier, declared that a combined effort by all Labour organizations to bring about better international understanding would have great prospects of success.

The Labour movements of the world, he said, should get closer together by every means at their command.

"If we can do anything that will bring us into closer touch with the Labour movements of other countries, it is our job to see that it is done," he told *The Standard*, official organ of the New Zealand Labour Movement. "The Labour movements in Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand, and all other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations can give a valuable lead to the world if they get closer together."

Mr. Savage said he would like to see a world economic conference sponsored by about half a dozen of the leading nations, such as Great Britain, the United States of America, and some of the great nations of Europe.

He was convinced that the only way to solve the problems that led to wars was to settle the economic differences existing in the world today.

Problem of Distribution

He had told the Imperial Conference that it was not merely a matter of territorial expansion. He said that if having a lot of territory would solve the world's problems, then Great Britain should have no problems at all.

It was not a question of holding territory; it was a question of the proper use of such territory and the proper distribution of the products of that territory. When the nations learned how to distribute as well as to produce goods they would be a long way toward getting over their difficulties.

Asked whether New Zealand could take the initiative in calling together a world conference, Mr. Savage seemed doubtful. Most nations, he declared, would have to look at the map to find out where New Zealand was.

Mr. Savage and members of his Cabinet have been invited by our Wellington correspondent to sign the National Petition for a new Peace Conference.

[News of the Petition, page 7.]

STRICTLY PRIVATE

"An American correspondent in China," says the *Fleet Street News*, "wrote to his Editor explaining that it was very difficult for him to get his reports past the censors. Most of his letters, he said, were opened."

"Next day he was visited by a Japanese official who explained that his letters were never opened or read."

"G.L." Welcomes Child Refugees From Poland

THIRTY-FOUR boys and twenty girls, comprising the first group of refugee children from the German-Polish frontier, arrived in London last week. They were brought here by the Polish Refugee Fund Committee, whose appeal chairman, Mr. George Lansbury, MP, presided at a luncheon given to the children on arrival.

He expressed the hope that they would have a happy stay in England and that in whatever country they might eventually settle they would find peace and happiness.

After thanking the guarantors and commanding the work of Mr. Elsley Zeitlyn, honorary treasurer of the fund, and Dr. H. Bagno, representative of the Jewish Child Welfare Organization in Poland, both of whom accompanied the children, Mr. Lansbury said it was a magnificent gesture to undertake to care for the refugee children until they were able to care for themselves.

And as much notice taken of it

"Without irreverence it may be urged that the same tender care should be bestowed upon this family ARP guide as was traditionally given to the family Bible."

—Gloucester Citizen.

you can purify your system the garlic way

The amazingly purifying effects of garlic were known 5,000 years ago in ancient Egypt. Many of the sturdiest peasant stocks of Southern Europe still owe much of their health to its regular use. But nearly everyone in Great Britain and Northern Europe finds its pungent odour objectionable and socially intolerable. But every reader of "Peace News" should know that the full remedial virtues of this wonderful plant can be obtained

without tainting your breath or person

by the use of ALLYSOL, which is a harmless, drugless, non-irritating but powerful internal anti-septic based on the active principle of garlic oil. It is this oil which is now known to be the curative element in garlic. In ALLYSOL the resinous irritant has been removed.

ALLYSOL

Taken in conjunction with daily meals of fresh, sound, unpolished food, ALLYSOL steadily but surely removes morbid intestinal conditions and enables the body to release its stored toxins. Allysol Odourless Tablets

One week's supply (42 tablets) 3/- For Pyorrhoea, deep-seated catarrh and grave disorders.

One month's supply (188 tablets) 11/- 2 oz. bottle - - 3/3

Three months' supply (500 tablets) 26/- Advice on request.

POST FREE FROM

ALLYSOL, Boxhill Rd., Tadworth, Surrey.

PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING OF THE P.P.U.

The second annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union will be held on April 15 and 16 (Saturday and Sunday), in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Delegates.—The meeting will be open to all members, but each group is invited to send one delegate to represent it. (This representation has been fixed owing to the increasing number of groups and the limited accommodation available.) In order to equalize travelling expenses a pooling system will be adopted, under which the average train fare of all delegates will be ascertained and each delegate whose fare is less than the average will be asked to contribute the difference to a pool, out of which those whose fares exceed the average can draw the excess.

Business.—A memorandum on Organization approved by the Sponsors has been circulated and will be published in *Peace News* next week. Following is the preliminary agenda:

Saturday, April 15

2 p.m. Meeting opens.

Voting.—It is hoped that it will be possible to take the general sense of the meeting on any question without resort to actual voting. In case, however, it is necessary to take a formal vote, delegates will be supplied with a green card and isolated members with a white one. In order that the views of the groups and isolated members may be fairly assessed, green cards will count as ten votes and white cards as one vote.

Hospitality.—London group leaders are asked to supply John Barclay, at PPU headquarters, with the names of those members who are willing to provide hospitality to delegates to the AGM, the majority of whom will only require bed and breakfast on the night of Saturday-Sunday. A few may want to stay over the weekend till Monday morning. Hospitality forms may be obtained from Mr. Barclay. As soon as possible hosts will be told the names of the delegate(s) allotted to them, and introduction at the AGM will be arranged.

2 p.m.—5 p.m. Appointment of Standing Orders Committee. Reports by (a) The Chairman; (b) The Treasurer; (c) The Group Organizer; (d) Peace News, &c.

5 p.m.—6.30 p.m. Tea and formal dedication of Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street.

6.30 p.m.—10 p.m. Discussion on organization.

Sunday, April 16

It is hoped again to keep Sunday morning free, unless resolutions are sent in which require fuller discussion.

2.30 p.m.—4.30 p.m. Discussion on Policy.

4.30 p.m. Tea.

An open-air demonstration may be arranged for the early evening.

In order that the final agenda and delegates' credentials may be sent not later than April 1, it is necessary that any resolutions, amendments, &c., should reach headquarters not later than March 17.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

“Informed Minds”—and Others : : Plan for Cooperative System

PEACE societies still have a “coldness” which is not inviting to the little less thoughtful mind; this makes increasing the membership harder work.

Lack of psychological sense results in many groups devoting all their time to discussing “abstracts” without anything active or tangible being offered to resolute pacifists who are not interested in hypotheses, but who, nevertheless, are sincere.

I object to pacifists and writers who, finding it easy to master, and effortless to discuss, matters political—foreign especially—adopt a certain self-righteousness which may infer that people not having what they call “informed minds” are of necessity second-rate peace-lovers. The former folk can readily quote figures, speeches and second-hand opinions, often suggesting that others who cannot *must* start, now, studying subjects of no interest to them.

Leading the masses from too much materialism, encouraging them to do noble peace-time work, helping them to appreciate the arts, &c.—this is valuable work for all pacifists who are not psychologically fitted to imbibe encyclopaedic knowledge, to say nothing of trying to inculcate this into other minds. Let peace societies encourage artists, musicians, lovers of truth and beauty; then those active workers in choice peace work (nurses, beach life-guards, &c.), by offering something other than wise discussion at meetings. If such as those mentioned could be attracted, they would be prepared to lead others in first-aid, life-saving work, &c. *We must offer interest and “adventure,” which war offers, to win recruits.*

Dull work is always detested—this would drive volunteers away; but must we confine ourselves to poster parades, addressing Church Guilds and so on, often offering something for which, in its present form, there is no appeal? No need is there for all pacifists to be second William Pitts. Let us not fall into the error of excluding all “human” interest from our curriculum.

For myself, the PPU is very good indeed as it is—but there are others. R. S. BAXTER.

411 Waterloo Road, Blackpool.

The Way to Peace

The first and biggest step toward peace is the recognition of Germany, Italy and Japan as great Powers and to see that, as great Powers, they are satisfied economically.

This last point should be given a permanent and foremost position not only in the minds of pacifists, but also in *Peace News*.

The question of refugees is a vital one and is undoubtedly the outcome of the Versailles Treaty. But their alleviation does not mean peace. It only means satisfaction to our humanitarian conscience which, ethically, is right. I do, however, strongly oppose putting this question on the headlines of *Peace News*.

It has not yet been stressed with enough intensity in *Peace News* that the only way to peace is the active consideration of Germany's, Italy's and Japan's complaints. This should be pummelled into the public for an agreed period and without cessation; since other papers will not do it, *Peace News* should. I cannot see but that this is the broad human outlook, for it has humanity as a whole, not just a section of it, under its direct vision.

T. R. GLOVER.
57b Copers Cope Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Aid for Refugees

In a quiet little French village in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish frontier, the War Resisters' International has maintained a home for forty Spanish refugee children for over a year. Suddenly, Prats-de-Mollo, from being unknown, has the spotlight of publicity thrown on it, as the main centre of the Spanish “invasion” of France. Here as we all know from the newspapers, thousands of refugees are miserably sheltered, driven out in the wintry weather from their homes and their country.

Professor Brocca, the Spanish Professor who has organized and looked after the Children's Home, and has risked his own life in helping many victims to escape into France, now sends desperate appeals for money to give help to the refugees.

There is no need for expenses of organization, or personnel. He has friends who can work with him and even the elder girls in the home are helping to serve in the canteen already established. France is giving splendid and generous help; here is a chance for us English to give practical aid to the sorrowing people of Spain, and to show once again the international solidarity of sympathy.

We need £1,000 at once.

A. RUTH FRY.
Hon. Treasurer.
War Resisters' International,
11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Plight of Unemployed

“Our hearts have been touched and rightly so by the plight of political and racial refugees from abroad. But what about the millions of our own industrial refugees in Britain?

“Malnutrition, poverty, and mental strain are causing death, disease and disability. Idle men, idle land, and idle plant present a tragic spectacle which is intolerable.”

Arthur Greenwood, House of Commons, 16.2.39.

D. R. BARNARDO'S Homes (which presumably do their house-keeping at wholesale prices) state in their appeals in the National Press that 10s. will feed a child for a fortnight.

Facts for Peace Workers

THE vexed question of the precise relation of the historic province of Bohemia to the Holy Roman Empire might be discussed almost indefinitely, only I imagine that *Peace News* readers would soon, and rightly, tire of it. May I suggest, instead, that any one wanting more light on the subject should read a history of Bohemia; for example, C. E. Maurice's excellent volume, published 1896, and called *Bohemia, from the earliest times to the fall of national independence in 1620, with a short summary of later events*.

I imagine that the difference between myself and Mr. Catlin is largely one of terms. No-one disputes Bohemia's inclusion in that loose job lot of principalities and States, the medieval Holy Roman Empire, but is it not straining terms to call her on this account “part of Germany”?

And Mr. Catlin's analogies do seem to me rather to darken counsel. He compares the relation of Bohemia to “Germany” with that of Ireland to Britain. But Ireland after the twelfth century had no king or central ruler and was divided among its great territorial earls and chiefs, over whom the English sovereign later ruled by deputy, whereas Bohemia was a centralized autonomous State, electing its own prince, whose “power was practically unlimited. The prince himself decided upon war or peace, he was the supreme judge in the land, he could demand labour, tribute and taxes according to his own will and requirements.”

Bohemia carried on its own wars, aggressions and conquests, whether to east or west, now allied with the Emperor in a campaign against rebellious Italian cities, now at war with him, now conquering great tracts to the north and east, now torn by religious and civil quarrels, until it passed for three centuries under a foreign yoke.

Mr. Catlin rightly alludes to the high position for a time held in the empire by Prague. This was, of course, because King Charles I of Bohemia happened also to be elected emperor (Charles IV); he lived in Prague because he was king of Bohemia, and set himself to make it an imperial capital. But this coincidence of the Bohemian and imperial crowns did not last long.

As to Austria, it was, of course, in the Holy Roman Empire. But here again Mr. Catlin seems a little misleading when he calls such wars as that between the Austrian Emperor and Frederick the Great of Prussia civil wars, and compares them with the civil war in England between one political party and another; indeed, I cannot think that he really meant such a comparison.

Finally, as to Herr Hitler's history: it is probable that, if he has read any, it is the Nazi history now being written by the unfortunate *gleichgeschaltet* German historians, as he has forbidden the use in Germany of any other. But such historical visions as may seethe in his somewhat excitable mind do not matter much, since history does not shape his views, but his views rewrite history for him.

ROSE MACAULAY.

War Propaganda

It behoves any pacifists who have the opportunity, to listen to certain talks put out by the BBC.

In one of these, radiated to schools in the National programme on February 14, at 11.25 a.m., and entitled, “History in the Making—National Service,” the statement, among others equally disputable, was made quite dogmatically that, “When we fight for our country we fight for freedom.”

This, I suggest, is war propaganda without disguise, and it is up to us to let the BBC know that there is another view and urge that this view should be presented, so that the members of the future generation of men and women shall have the opportunity of weighing the pros and cons of issues like the present one of “National Service for War” before they have to choose where they stand or form an opinion about it.

H. R. SALLIS.
53 Earls Court Road, Harborne, Birmingham,
17.

Our unemployed have to maintain (feed, house and clothe) their children on 3s. a week.

May I join with Will Hayden (*Peace News* February 17) in urging all *Peace News* readers to lend their aid by joining the Christ and Unemployment Crusade.

Full particulars may be had from the Rev. William Dick, Trinity Hall, Augusta Street, Poplar, E.14, or from

CHARLES STUART,
The Good Companions, City of London PPU Group.

13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Pacifists and Evacuation

WHEN enquiries were made for the evacuation scheme, I refused, as a Christian pacifist, to give the required particulars for the following reasons.

1. The more protection there is offered to the population the less they will fear war and the less they will protest against it. So, by supporting the evacuation scheme, we are, indirectly helping to bring war nearer, for the more people protest against war, the less likely is the Government to ask or demand that people should fight.

2. Many people say that the reason for the policy of appeasement and no war was that we were not sufficiently prepared. If this is true, the more we prepare (by evacuation schemes, &c., as well as by rearmament), the more we are bringing nearer the very thing we wish to be free from—the destruction of our homes and children—and, we mustn't forget, the homes and children of other nations. Even if the above wasn't true, it illustrates that no nation is going to war unless sufficiently prepared, therefore I cannot hasten these preparations in any way.

FLORA COLLAR.

4 Irby Street, Boston, Lincs.

Colonial Problems

After reading Amy Moore's exceedingly inaccurate description of European-owned Tea Estates in Ceylon, published in your issue of December 30, I feel impelled to ask you to grant me space, if only in the interests of truth, to make a reply.

As I am myself a planter (and a white one at that!) no doubt Amy Moore will claim that I am prejudiced: but when I point out that I am not only a Christian pacifist but a socialist and that I disapprove of some of the conditions on estates, perhaps it will be granted that I am giving unbiased views.

As it would take up considerable space to go into every point Amy Moore raises, I must content myself by assuring you, sir, that quite two-thirds of the article is either quite inaccurate or grossly exaggerated.

Labour conditions in Ceylon may not be perfect, but they are not at all bad and are steadily improving. If they were half as bad as Amy Moore makes out thousands of coolies would not come over from South India each year to work in Ceylon! It is also well known to all who work on tea estates that the best conditions are usually found on European-run properties.

May I add two facts which Amy Moore may not have remembered when writing her opening sentence? Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1838: tea was only first planted in Ceylon in 1870! There were no Indian coolies here prior to that.

I should also like to say how much *Peace News* is appreciated out here.

J. H. CARDEW.

Lamiliere Estate, Talawakelle, Ceylon.

WITH regard to Nigel Spottiswoode's last article under Speaking Personally, may I suggest that he is paying too much attention to the economic aspect of communal living, and too little to the psychological?

If we are to overthrow capitalism, we have not merely to impoverish those people who now benefit most from it, but we have to replace the acquisitive psychology, which is the fundamental cause of the capitalist system and which is to be found in the workers just as much as in the employers.

I agree that the best way of doing this is by forming groups to live communally, but if these groups pay too much attention to the acquisition of productive property, there is a danger that they will achieve the bankruptcy of the capitalist system without achieving the psychology which is necessary for a society based on principles of cooperation and brotherhood.

I would suggest that the excess income would be better spent on training in, and propagation of, these principles, than on the collection of cabbage patches.

R. T. BROOKS.
C/o 3 Du Cane Court, Balham High Road, S.W.17

Much as I welcome the growing interest in the possibility of Peace Pledge Union members living communally, I feel that I must protest against the almost universal assumption that this has something to do with growing vegetables.

Anyone taking a casual interest in suggestions for communal living might well think that we were all being urged to live in simple rural communities.

Even if we ignore the disagreeableness and difficulty of spreading ourselves more evenly over the surface of the earth, we are entitled to ask why we should go back upon progress and accept less comfort and leisure than we have been used to.

I would very much like to see more consideration of the problem of communities for industrial and commercial workers.

N. H. BURROUGH.
84 Sarsfield Road, Balham, S.W.12.

The articles on communities by Nigel Spottiswoode have been a source of great interest to some of us in the Nelson group of the Peace Pledge Union.

We have been discussing the formation of a pacifist community here, and have in mind a most suitable place in which to start one. If we are to make a success of it, however, we shall need at least four more people to join us. We feel that one person must be free to spend all his time on the land—there are about three acres—and that, if at all possible, we should be able to take a refugee to look after the house. In order to do these things, we shall need four more wage-earners besides ourselves. There are at present five of us, all wage-earners, but the house we have in mind is a large one, to allow for expansion.

May I ask if there is anyone who could accompany us in this venture, or who could help us in any way, or who would like further information, he or she would write to my wife at this address. It would give me great pleasure to answer the letters myself, but unfortunately (in this instance) I shall be away travelling the country with the film and publicity van.

LEONARD I. SIDWELL.
Dene Cottage, Roughlee, Burnley, Lancs.

Another Inquiry?

In your February 17 issue Mr. R. J. Scrutton pleads for a judicial examination of the present social system.

Long experience has taught me that official inquiries are an effective device for doing nothing. Those who call for them are, perhaps unconsciously, endeavouring to pass on their own responsibility to other shoulders. The King and his Government have no source of information which is not also available to the public, and no greater intelligence to enable them to trace social evils to their causes and suggest remedies.

An inquiry into the causes of poverty and strife was made long ago by Henry George and the results presented to the world in the three million copies sold of *Progress and Poverty*. I would like to advise your readers to examine this book before spending time on a new inquiry which, I believe, they will then know to be unnecessary.

ARTHUR H. WELLER.
98 Sandy Lane, Manchester, 21.

IT is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

£520,000,000 to fight for THIS HERITAGE?

I WAS sitting on one of those long seats strongest fighting force the world has ever known, and the people of England are paying for it gladly—rallying like true Britons to protect their Empire from these darned foreigners.

At one end of the seat was a youthful looking man, probably in his thirties, with the loose robust build of an ex-rugger player. I gathered he was one of those fortunate chaps who had been just too young to be called to the front during the War, for although his face bore a strange vacant expression, he did not have the worn maturity of the average man of his age.

An arrogant-looking aristocrat had just seated himself, with a flourish of his tails and a careful hitching of his striped trousers. His clothes were so perfect in detail that, either they were newly acquired from some fashionable Saville-row tailor, or they had the daily care of a valet.

I could see as soon as he approached the seat that he wanted to talk to someone. But either my face was discouraging or my appearance too shabby; he shunned me and sat quite close to the ex-rugger player fellow.

★

HIS mouth opened long before his sharply-creased trousers made contact with the seat, and, with arms akimbo on his silver-knobbed swagger cane, he forced a husky army-major introductory cough.

"Bmmbrhoo. Morning' sir!" said Algernon (judging by his appearance and accent I imagined that might be his name). He was half turned, with his back toward me. The ex-rugger player smiled courteously and, although he did not speak, his calm boyish face invited the pseudo-major to give vent to his feelings.

"What a grand summer mornin'. The kind of day that makes you soak yourself in the sun—makes you glad you're a subject of this glorious Empire of ours on which the sun never sets.

"To gaze on such a sight as this glorious green country of ours, this beautiful park, and those majestic buildings is to make one glow with gladness at the thought of being a part of it. I often come here just to gaze at it all, as I've no doubt you do also, sir."

The ex-rugger player stared blankly across the park. There was a slightly troubled expression on his face and he moved his lips as though to speak. But the monologue continued.

"See those handsome guards over on the grass? How they personify the invincibility of our forces—forces that make this nation what it is today. 'God who made thee mighty make thee mightier yet'—and he will. They can say what they like about old Neville, but he's building up the

began to look worried, and I was surprised, on gaining a closer view, to see that he was much older than a first impression led one to believe. I saw now that he was nearer forty than thirty.

The British Empire for the British, that's what I say, and to hell with everybody else. To the last man we'll fight for that right. We came through the last war triumphant and by gad we'll do it again when the time comes. Don't you agree, sir?

"I've no doubt you'd be one of the first to volunteer, sir, if your country needed

On and on Algernon rambled and I thought he would never stop. Presently a youth of about twenty years came up to the seat, tapped the listener on the shoulder and took him by the arm as he stood. They made as if to leave the seat and suddenly the older man, catching his foot under Algernon's cane, fell headlong to the ground.

As the man lay on the ground I was horror-stricken by the sickening sight that I saw. His hat had fallen from his head, revealing a deep scar, stretching from the back to the front of the side of his head that had not been visible.

The boy picked him up

"I'm so sorry, sir. You must forgive my father for stumbling on you like that, but he really can't help it, sir. You see, a piece of shrapnel took away his sight and his voice on his first day in the trenches in 1918. It was good of you to entertain him while I was away, sir. Good day, sir, and thank you very much."

SHORT STORY—
Founded on Fact

By F. N. TURNER

BY this time the listener was edging in his seat. I could see he was hardly as enthusiastic about the subject as was Algernon, for never once did he speak (not that he had the chance, of course). He

A New Play by Capek

The Mother. Garrick Theatre (from March 2).

THIS is a play *par excellence* for pacifists, or rather, for non-pacifists, since it is to the illiberal adherents of fanatical causes that Capek's "message" is primarily addressed. And although, in my opinion, the author's dramatic technique is surprisingly undistinguished and even crude, his burning conviction on matters of common concern make it the most morally effective play in London.

Its use of dialogue and emotional interplay is naturalistic but the whole thing is essentially symbolic and shows such disregard for consistency, even within its own super-natural limits, that it must be taken without too much question as the barely controlled expression of ideas in free dramatic form. The dialogue is not infrequently artificial in its preoccupation with one theme, and there are moments of near-ludicrous effect which, missing irony, catch the audience between two moods and force it to laugh, as it were, despite itself.

HEROIC DEATH

The Mother symbolizes purely humanitarian ideals, as distinct from those which spring from class, politics or militant patriotism: in her is concentrated the tragedy of an unnatural and premature death, since it is she who pays in arduous terms of mental suffering.

Capek's satirical exposure of romantic ideas about heroic death as no more than picturesque imaginings by the living, and his reiteration of the negative results of physical conflict will hardly meet serious challenge from an intellectual point of view. The justification for its stage-representation, therefore, is chiefly the inspiration of audiences through their emotions, and its success may fairly be measured by the degree to which this is done.

W. H. GELDER

Wanted—A Ministry of Peace!

I WOULD like to see public opinion determined to solve for humanity the sore problem of war and peace because I believe that thus alone is to be found the psychological health essential for the great tasks that the future will have to face.

It is an error to view the body social and politic of humanity as divided between parties and sects. Parties, sects, churches, all organized gospels and causes for the spiritual welfare of mankind, must bow to experience if they mean to put into practice the implications of their creeds. From the point of view of practical results humdrum experience transcends lofty creeds.

Two Outlooks

FROM this angle of the experimental laboratory, so to say, we may view humanity's spiritual endeavours, not as shared out between parties and churches, but as divided between two opposite outlooks on life.

On the one hand are those ready to back the creed they have at heart by the notion, so often heard, that "the end justifies the means." This outlook of drab opportunism, of weak-minded faith, to say the least, invariably leads to intolerance, fear, and despair, from which spring wars, inquisitions, revolutions, massacres, the very opposites of the gospels put forth.

This short-sighted policy has been upheld by majority groups of the most powerful organizations, churches, and causes known to mankind since the dawn of history, and has uniformly caused the most lofty ideals to become but the mockery of themselves in their practical application.

On the other side are people, hard pressed to see some gospel bear fruit, yet never losing sight of the axiom that "evil cannot conquer evil," that for achieving a fine end only fine means will work. These people are yet few, though existing at all

times, and move for the most part in and out of parties, churches, causes, and philosophies, impregnated with the essence of their methods yet not possessing the indispensable psychological outfit to bring it to fruition: tolerance, unyielding patience and understanding, clear-sighted faith and hope.

People of this second school of thought have been drawn together of recent times from all corners of the world and from various sects and parties, often to unite on

By Havelock Ellis

the platform of pacifism, since nowhere more than in this problem of war and peace are the two schools opposed, yet on solving this grievous dilemma depends the survival of civilization, not merely because on this sore problem the other way has always failed, but because, experimentally, the method of means before ends is scientific and psychological common sense whatever problem is tackled.

Inspiration Needed

THERE are tried veterans who remained staunch in their hope during the last war, in the face of opprobrium and persecution. Others have acquired a faith no less staunch even if learned through the battlefield's experience.

This inspiration we must all seek if we wish for success in this great endeavour.

The "man in the street," multiplied *ad infinitum*, is always ready to proclaim that such and such a political party he specially dislikes and considers dangerous, is so because of evil methods it seems to uphold in order to achieve its aim at all costs.

Yet he remains incongruously blind to the fact that he himself upholds methods of drab opportunism and weak-minded faith when he allows his country to work for

peace by preparing for war and piling up armaments. Many people of this frame of mind assure us, rightly or wrongly, that war was averted in the recent crisis only because England and France were armed to the teeth; they will straightway vote for further subsidies for armaments.

The coolness displayed by Mr. Chamberlain in the late dance of diplomats upon the gunpowder dump which is Europe, his able way of bringing forth a semblance of peace as the curtain fell, must not blind us to the fact that, in the opinion of many, this peace would be better named a fluke.

Our gratitude goes out to Mr. Chamberlain for having been able to produce a fluke so magnificent; our hopes are that part of the methods he employed, borrowed as it seemed from the pacifists, will end by making him a complete convert. But, while praising where praise is due, many of us remain firmly convinced that this fluke of our statesmen is not one to repeat while Europe remains an arsenal and while the balance of power, perhaps in a year or two, may offer a different pattern, no longer allowing that hesitation on the part of one opponent which Mr. Chamberlain was inspired to seize upon for negotiations.

Creating Ministries

LANSBURY led the way for Chamberlain to Munich," wrote someone in *The Times*. Just so. And we may well believe that the lead, embodied in England in the hale figure of a veteran pacifist, offers a hope to free humanity from war. Our statesmen of weak-minded faith would do well to call forth such sturdy believers to their rescue.

If, however, governments still fail to recognize the crucial importance of a Ministry of Peace, for which the uncompromising pacifist is equipped, public opinion should create these ministries as lay bodies, supporting them with faith, money, and power, so that they may use their methods to the full, the methods of love, tolerance, understanding, negotiation and reconciliation.

Get to know
ALLY SOL

Publication on 28th February

MEMOIRS OF A SPANISH NATIONALIST

By ANTONIO BAHAMONDE,

Ex-Commissioner for Propaganda for His Excellency Don Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Southern Nationalist Spain.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

Millions for the Madhouse

IT is one of the justifications of the pacifist case for the abolition of war as a piece of practical politics "in our time," despite the infinitesimal proportions of the pacifist movement, that "nobody" wants war and "everybody" wants peace. "Munich" (if not all that that magic word is now seen to mean) has rightly been advanced as a case in point.

What, then, of that apparently glaring contradiction, the budgeting, with no real or effective opposition, of the unheard of sum of £580,000,000 for this country's direct war preparations in the coming financial year?

There are, in the first place, a number of explanations which, having nothing directly to do with people's attitude to either peace or war, immediately take much of the sting out of the apparent blow to pacifist confidence. In general, for example, there is the notorious defect in our democratic system represented by the feeling, among the great majority of people, of entire lack of either control or responsibility where the actions of that quite mysterious power called "the Government" are concerned. In particular, and further aiding that feeling, that mysterious power has chosen this time, in its benevolence, actually to ask less of the people this year than last, the remainder (and larger part) of the burden being put upon those who actually do have least control or responsibility—the coming generation.

* * *

Those facts explain a lot, and those who are doing what is possible to overcome them must be regarded as contributing a valuable share to the work of abolishing war. But they do not explain how, for example, the *Sunday Times* can say that "this expenditure is the most monstrous mountain of collective political folly that the world has ever known" and yet support it. That newspaper, however, goes on to explain itself:—

No man of sense could reconcile himself to this colossal diversion of the means of happy life to the means of destruction and death unless he believed that they made actual war less likely (Our italics).

There, in fact, we have the chief reason why sane people insist upon doing what they admit is mad—unlike certified lunatics who, of course, insist that they are sane. Large numbers of people—probably the majority of those who make any effort to think about it at all—honestly believe that arms can prevent war.

Particularly so if by "arms" we here understand (as we are meant to) at least all the paraphernalia of "defence" represented by the £580,000,000 Estimates which such people now support.

* * *

Now nobody has ever satisfactorily explained just how armaments prevent war. Nor, for the matter of that, is it usually considered necessary.

Nor is it surprising, in view of the experience of mankind throughout the history of the world, that no-one has yet justified the foundation on which so effective a defence of an admittedly mad policy has been built and now rests so firmly. True, at least one attempt has been made. Thus, a retired vice-admiral informed readers of *The Times* not long ago that

The deterrent effect of reprisals does not mean that if the enemy bombs our women and children we will deliberately bomb his. Nothing of the sort. That is not a deterrent effect: it is a revengeful act, quite a different thing.

If the enemy knows before he starts to bomb us that, if and when he does start to bomb us, we shall be prepared and ready to bomb him more than he bombs us, then he may be deterred from starting to bomb us. In that case he would not bomb us, we should not bomb him, and nobody would bomb anybody.

That is what we want to arrive at and that is what is meant by the deterrent effect of reprisals.

You see how it "works": the "enemy" first has to know that "if and when" he bombs us, we shall be "prepared and ready" to bomb "him" more than he bombs "us" (not "if the enemy bombs our women and children we will deliberately bomb his. Nothing of the sort.") Then he may be deterred from bombing us.

* * *

Unfortunately for this "explanation" it is impossible to imagine, say, Marshal Badoglio, on returning from Libya after his inspection of the military situation, reporting: "But I know, Duce, that the moment we bomb Tunis the French are ready to bomb us more than we bomb them," and Mussolini replying: "Oh bother, then we shall have to go on paying French shareholders for the privilege of using the Suez Canal and the port of Jibuti to get to the Empire they have recognized as ours." One might easily argue that Signor Mussolini ought to say that; but one is not so easily persuaded that he would. It is easier to imagine him asking: "Well, then, what increase in our armament is necessary to enable us to bomb them even more than that?"

That, in fact, is how the arms race (the proper name for "preparedness for war") works—for the same kind of conversation would subsequently take place in Paris, and in any other capital that felt itself affected. And it was no less responsible a person than a British Foreign Secretary, Lord Grey, who wrote:—

The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable. This, it seems to me, is the truest reading of history, and the lesson that the present should be learned from the past in the interest of future peace, the warning to be handed on to those who come after us.

One would have thought that the very viciousness of that circle would suffice to bring the nations to a halt and then to the inevitable conference table. It might yet do so, if the ordinary people of the nations could be made to see the process in all its naked viciousness. (An effort to make them see it, by the way, should prove a valuable aid in a final drive for signatures, for the National Petition for a New Peace Conference, which closes next week).

But even if it cannot of itself compel men to use their better judgment, even if it be argued that better judgment has first to be created out of a new spirit, fashioned by slow constructive measures, there remains the necessity of destroying the roots of this malignant growth called arms that is daily threatening to destroy the body of mankind.

Humphrey S. Moore

RESISTANCE TO WAR IN OTHER LANDS

Men Who Have Faced Jail and Death For Their Convictions

IN the sunshine before the storm, the Council of the War Resisters' International met at Bilhaven in Holland on the very spot where it was founded eighteen years before.

The storm has broken; some members are in prison, some are refugees. The work of the WRI is driven underground, much of it is illegal, much of it cannot be told, but the chain holds fast, not a link is broken. It binds together comrades in 68 countries of the world, reaching into every corner of the earth.

Below we give accounts received from the WRI of the work of some of its members, whose resolute stand for their principles will be an inspiration to pacifists everywhere.

EUGENE LAGOT

(France)

Member of the International Council, the



man who has saved so many—is himself in prison. Efforts are being made for his release.

He writes:

"I can assure you sincerely that what you are doing is too much and quite out of proportion with the discomfort I am undergoing. When I think about the long martyrdom of all those victims of repression; of all those who suffered all kinds of misfortune far more cruel than mine; of régimes infinitely more harsh than mine; of imprisonment for life; of the death penalty even—I am ashamed when I see what affection can do for a man in prison who is so unworthy compared with those who really were worthy and who were unable to benefit by such friendly support.

"I should feel happier if your activities were given more towards direct propaganda for War Resistance, than towards my release. I have only three or four more months to do—but war is threatening our stupid humanity every day more and more. What do six months of prison matter when millions of men are destined to be massacred?

"I think it is preferable not to insist only on my release, but to launch a vast campaign against war in England and in America. Remember there won't be any war if the French Government is not assured of the collaboration of England and America. Without England and America at her side French Imperialism will not go to war.

"Hence it is reasonable to suggest the necessity for a particularly strong agitation on these lines—make it known in England, make it known in America, make it known in all the countries where we have sections of the War Resisters' International, that France does not represent Democracy and Liberty in world politics, but that she represents French Imperialism; just as British participation in another war will represent British Imperialism and not British Liberalism; just as American participation alongside the pseudo British and French democracies will represent Yankee Imperialism.

"It is in that direction that my short term of imprisonment might be used for the benefit of War Resistance."

ANDREJ POLISZCZUK

(Poland)

Did four years alone in prison, believing

he was the only War Resister in the world. Then we discovered him and the world opened for him. Hundreds of letters reached his prison cell one Christmas Day.

Efforts on his behalf were made by a number of eminent persons and his release was achieved.

While he was in prison, his brother wrote:

"I want to say to you about my brother that in October, he came out openly to fight for the best idea of mankind. From that day he lost his freedom.

"He is ready to die for the cause, but refuses to be a blind instrument in the hands of those who stand for war and destruction.

but he believes in the power of love. He has no enemies because he loves all men, no matter what their nationality or religion. For his open acknowledgment of his faith, he is in chains.

"It has been so and it will be so for some time yet, until humanity will realize its mistake and understand the power of love."

Andrej wrote, on his release:

"It was like a miracle. I was alone and ill, preparing myself to die, misunderstood even by those who loved me, then suddenly the world opened and I was released, and more than that, what I had stood for begins to be understood."

JUOZAS PETRULIS

(Lithuania)

Juozas was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

We found him and we saved him, but only after five years' weary struggle.

During all his five years in prison, he was in solitary confinement in an almost dark cell and all but lost his sight.

Today he is a free man.

He is but one of many; we cannot save them all, but we can give them moral strength, the sense of solidarity and make the thing for which they fight better known and understood.

HRISTO IVANCEV

(Bulgaria)

Was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. His release was obtained after three years as the result of a personal visit to the Government in Sofia by Eugène Lagot, supplemented by other efforts.

Soon after his return home he wrote to the International:

"I have been free for some days now, and I fully recognize that I owe my freedom to you at the headquarters of the War Resisters' International and to all my comrades here and abroad who have appealed on my behalf.

"I also want to tell you that prison could not weaken my ideals—on the contrary, it has but fortified them and to-day I am so happy to be able to continue to work for them with even greater enthusiasm."

He died shortly after his release.

RENE RAYMOND

(France)

Was nineteen years in the French Penal colony at Cayenne, French Guiana, sent out there as a boy of nineteen. Served the long and cruel sentence, was released but condemned to perpetual banishment in that unhealthy tropical country.

For seven years we struggled for him.

He was charged with being in communication with a "Communist organization"—the War Resisters' International.

He was banished to the jungle, where he found the native people better men and women than the civilized inhabitants of Europe. At last we brought him home.

He is one of nine War Resisters who have been saved from that living death.

NATIONAL SERVICE SCHEME FACES FAILURE

Opposition to Conscription Grows Steadily

SIDE-BY-SIDE with evidence that the Government is faced with the probable failure of its National Service campaign, there are growing signs of opposition to the campaign and to the conscription which many people believe it foreshadows.

A Home Office official has admitted that "Recruiting is not as good as it should be," and a *Daily Express* survey which concluded on Saturday showed that only one in 260 of the population has volunteered. Sir John Anderson still needs 330,000 of the 500,000 volunteers he hoped to secure by March 31.

Meanwhile branches of the recently formed No Conscription League are already springing up in different parts of the country. Branches now exist, or are expected to do so before long, at Bournemouth, Ely, Nelson, Salisbury, Southend and Southampton.

As part of the national campaign to stimulate and coordinate political opposition to conscription, the League will hold a convention for delegates from Yorkshire organizations in the Trades Hall, Leeds, on April 22. It is hoped to hold a convention in South London during March, as well as one in South Wales on a date yet to be arranged.

The League has received affiliations from many groups of the Peace Pledge Union, from branches of the Women's Cooperative Guild and from some 300 individuals.

In a Military Centre

The headquarters of the Southern Command had its first taste of the League on Friday evening, when Labour Party members, trades unionists, members of the Independent Labour Party and a solitary Communist gathered in the Rechabite Hall, Salisbury, to inaugurate a branch of the League.

Despite the fact that a good proportion of the city's inhabitants is employed either at the Southern Command offices or at the Government's main experimental station three miles away, there was enthusiasm and unity at the meeting (writes a correspondent).

The Rev. W. Mauleverer, member of the executive committee of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, presided. The aims of the No Conscription League were explained by Terence Lancaster, secretary of the local PPU group, who pointed out that conscription was the logical outcome of the present arms race. Mr. Norman Hancock, author of *Interlude for John*, speaking as a participant in the last war, said that, although he could not go all the way with the pacifists, he refused to cooperate with the present Government in their efforts to regiment this country into one large army.

The motion "That this meeting expresses its complete opposition to any thought of conscription, believing it to be a further step toward fascism in this country, and supports the establishment of the No Conscription League on a national basis and the formation of a branch of the League in the Salisbury area," was carried unanimously.

It was announced during the meeting that the Divisional Labour Party had decided to give its full support to the League.

Pacifists and the Register

Groups of the Peace Pledge Union have telegraphed and written to Sir John Anderson to express their attitude to the National Register.

The executive of the groups in the Barnet area sent this telegram: "Three hundred Barnet Pacifists offer voluntary service for peace but not for war preparations."

The same theme inspired a letter to Sir John on behalf of fifty members of the Horsham branch, who pointed out that they were actively engaged in seeking to promote international understanding, in relieving the distress of refugees, and in encouraging support of constructive peace measures. Those members who wished to do so had also completed National Service enrolment forms stating their willingness to undertake constructive peace work whilst remaining opposed to all service which is part of war preparations.

A message sent to the Lord Privy Seal by the Llanelli group declared: "National Service plans for war. We are working for constructive peace. This is national and international service."

As may be expected from the fact that only 0.8 per 1,000 of its population has volunteered for National Service, Wales is a stronghold of opposition.

Resolutions against cooperation in the scheme have been carried by the South Carmarthenshire Baptists' Quarterly Meeting; the Gwendraeth Valley Free Church Council; the Mid-Gwendraeth Trades Council and Labour Party; the Pontyberem

Parish Council; and the workmen at the New Dynant Colliery, Cwmamawr.

A recent committee meeting of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship affirmed "that to be part of the military machine is contrary to our Christian consciences; that any ministerial service in time of war should be voluntary; and that the Christian minister's status in National Service should be clarified."

Opposition Among Youth

Believing voluntary service to be the forerunner of conscription, the Oxford University Labour Club is urging all undergraduates to boycott National Service, while a statement issued by the National Youth Campaign declared its members would never submit to compulsory service "for a policy that assists the brutality of Hitler and Mussolini and destroys freedom at home."

While cooperation in the National Service scheme by the Boy Scout Movement—one of the largest youth organizations in the country—depends largely on local Scoutmasters, a letter from Lord Somers, deputy Chief Scout, in *The Times*, on Saturday was illuminating as to the attitude of headquarters.

Referring to the fear among friends of the movement of a clash "between the ideals of world brotherhood and national defence," he said they had "failed to realize that the movement is rather inter-national than international, and it is commonly understood among Scouts in all countries that loyalty to one's own land is a primary obligation on every member of the movement."

"Naturally, we would all rather concentrate on work for world peace, and we have no intention of slackening our work for this great ideal," added Lord Somers, "but in September last it was painfully obvious that we had work to do in the other direction." He went on to recall with pride how that work—cooperation in ARP &c.—had been carried out, and concluded with a reference to redoubled efforts "toward friendliness and happy relationship among the youth of the world."

THE chance of making a really deep impression upon the public mind by the Declaration renouncing war expected to be signed by some 5,000 Ministers and clergy is stressed by the organizers, the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. The text of the Declaration was given in *Peace News* last week.

It is hoped to secure the 5,000 supporters by the end of March. This goal can be attained if, in every town where there is a pacifist, an attempt is made to interview all Ministers on the subject of the Declaration, copies of which can be obtained from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Pacifist Ministers can themselves try to secure the support of other Ministers. It is pointed out that a Minister's membership of a pacifist society does not entitle the organizers to add his name to the Declaration. The names of such Ministers who wish to support the Declaration must therefore be sent to the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

Those who have already agreed to support the Declaration include:

J. R. Ackroyd, Wilfred S. Andrews, Leslie Artingstall;

Eric Baker, John C. Ballantyne, H. J. Blackmore, Allan Balding, W. Harold Beales, S. H. Benson, Henry Bett, C. Leslie Brewer, S. C. Bryan;

Henry Carter, H. Chalmers, R. O. Clack, John R. Coates, Constance M. Colman, G. Oswald Cornish, John Ivory Cripps;

T. Harold Davies, D. Myrddin Davies, E. Tegla Davies, Oliver Dryer;

Denis Fletcher, James Fraser;

Medal For Man Who Stopped Thirty Wars

Because he stopped thirty wars in three years "Ingrams of Arabia" has been awarded, jointly with his wife, the Lawrence gold medal of the Royal Central Asian Society.

He went out to Southern Arabia three years ago as successor to Colonel Lawrence and in an area the size of England he found thirty wars going on, gangsterdom rife and the country torn by hundreds of lifelong tribal feuds.

He has brought peace by sharing the lives of the Arabs and wearing their dress to gain their confidence. He has prevailed on 1,300 heads of tribes to sign a truce.

Debate on Pacifism and the Fascists

A debate on the question "Can Pacifism restrain the Totalitarian States?" will be held by the Paddington Women's Liberal Association, at 8.15 p.m., on Tuesday, in the Ethical Church Hall, 4a Inverness Place, Queensway, W.2.

Speakers will be Roy Walker (Peace Pledge Union) and Miss Aline Mackinnon (Liberal candidate for Holderness).

A Record Sale

MORE copies of *Peace News* were sold through newsagents last week than in any previous week.

The sale through newsagents is the basic circulation of the paper. In addition there is a necessarily varying figure for sales at meetings, on the streets, and so on.

THIS WEEK'S SUGGESTION

Buy an extra copy to leave around—especially in doctors', dentists', barbers' waiting rooms, where it will be seen by most people.

Get it from a newsagent. Get your newsagent—using the promise of taking an extra copy as an inducement, if necessary—to display a contents bill (informing us so that we can supply it).

Baptist Pacifists Form a London Union

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship has formed a London Union. Mr. E. W. Bales, 105 Parkway, N.W.1, is the secretary and he would be glad to hear from any Baptist Pacifists in the London area.

There will be a public meeting on Friday, May 12, in Central London.

It is also proposed to send a letter to all the ministers and Church Secretaries of London Baptist Churches offering to send a pacifist speaker to their church. A panel of speakers is being compiled for this purpose.

This Is "Petition Week"

THE campaign in support of the National Petition for a new Peace Conference has been intensified this week by the holding of a Petition Week in many parts of the country. At the same time plans have been going ahead for the rally in connexion with the completed Petition in Queen's Hall, London, at 7.45 p.m. on March 18. (The Petition is under the auspices of the National Peace Council in conjunction with the Peace Pledge Union and many other national organizations.)

It is now known that speakers at the rally will include Mr. George Lansbury, MP; Mr. H. H. Elvin (vice-President of the General Council of the TUC General Council); Miss Vera Brittain; Miss E. M. Tanner (Headmistress of Roedean School); and Dr. Cyril Bailey (Public Orator of Oxford University).

Two free tickets, ensuring reserved seats at the Queens Hall demonstration, will be sent on request to each local organization which has already actively supported the Petition.

Except in the Greater London area, additional free tickets will be available provided the application for these additional tickets is vouchered for and sent up by the local organization.

These free tickets will also be issued to individuals who have taken a leading part in the campaign, but who may not be associated with any local organization. Applications in all cases must be sent to The National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

In addition to the free reserved seats a number of reserved seats will be available at 2s. 6d. and 1s. per seat. There will also be a number of free, unreserved seats.

WEST END CAMPAIGN

Petition Week closes in London with a special "drive" in the West End tomorrow (Saturday), organized by the Peace Pledge Union.

Ten thousand copies of a "give-away" leaflet will be distributed in all parts of the West End, drawing attention to the Petition and stating that it can be signed outside Selfridge's, Oxford Circus Station, Tottenham Court Road Station, &c. At these places volunteers will be posted with posters and Petition forms on portable boards.

Volunteers should arrive at PPU Headquarters, 98 Regent Street, W.1, at 6.30 p.m., or as soon after as possible.

Among the thousands of completed Petition forms returned to the National Peace Council has been one from Poona, India, including the signature of the Mother Provincial of St. Mary's Convent, Poona, on behalf of eighteen members of the Convent.

In addition, the headmistresses of forty-six girls' public schools have now signed the Petition including Roedean, Godolphin and St. Paul's. Over eighty heads of boys' public schools have now signed, including the heads of Malvern, Mill Hill, Rugby and Bryanston.

Pacifist Call to Churches

C. Paul Gliddon, W. H. Haden, Percy Hartill, A. H. Hawkins, W. I. Hinsley, C. G. Holland, Hugh L. Hornby; A. Gordon James, H. Inglis James, G. Hickman Johnson, R. J. Jones; Leslie Keeble, D. D. A. Lockhart, Walter M. Long; George H. C. Macgregor, Lewis MacLachlan, George Macleod, David C. Mitchell, Gilbert Molesworth, Stuart Morris; E. Benson Perkins, G. Lloyd Phelps, Eric W. Philip, Watcyn M. Price; Charles E. Raven, Kenneth Rawlings, Leyton Richards, Colin A. Roberts, Norman L. Robinson, William Robinson, H. D. E. Rokeby, Maud Royden, Sam Rowley; T. B. Scrutton, Cyril M. Smith, W. J. Smith, Donald Soper; Martin E. Tupper, W. Upright, E. C. Urwin, William Wood, R. S. Wright, D. Gordon Wylie.

THE CHRISTIAN PEACE MESSAGE NOW

A devotional meeting in support of an appeal by clergy and ministers of all Churches for a fearless peace message to a world at war.

KINGSWAY HALL

27th FEBRUARY, at 7.30 p.m.
CANON CHARLES E. RAVEN : DR. DONALD O. SOPER
MISS VERA BRITAIN

Admission Free.

Reserved seats 2/6 and 1/-. From Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

The Pacifist's Bookshelf

THREE POST-MORTEMS ON MUNICH

Germans and Italians Against War

By JOHN BOYLAN

This Terrible Peace. By Helen Kirkpatrick. Rich and Cowan. 5s.

Four Days. Edited by Michael Killanin. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.

In Defence of Dr. Benes and Czech Democracy. By Eugene Lennhoff. Rich and Cowan. 5s.

... AND so St. George capitulated to the Dragon, uneasily agreeing that the Damsel he had sworn to protect was not really worth squabbling over, only beseeching the Monster not to devour her in one voracious gulp, but having regard to the niceties of civilization as understood in the Year of Grace 1938, make a gentlemanly meal of her with properly staged intervals between the courses. But the Monster only growled the more threateningly and insisted on gobbling her whole, whereat St. George made haste to APPEASE the Dragon, at the same time pointing out to the Damsel that she was only being devoured for her own good and sternly adjoining her in no wise to resist...

Not a nice fable; leaves a nasty flavour in the mouth; and decidedly much grimmer than Grimm or any other weaver of old-time legends. Perhaps it is incongruous in that all the chivalry is missed out; yet it is fantastic enough, God knows. So fantastic indeed, that Miss Helen Kirkpatrick, in her book, *This Terrible Peace*, tells us how it left a whole continent gasping, indignant and incredulous.

If Miss Kirkpatrick had entitled her book *I Speak for America* she would certainly not have exaggerated. In her country ever since the rise of Hitler the preponderating mass of public opinion has been anti-totalitarian and at the present moment Mr. Neville Chamberlain is regarded as Public Enemy of Democracy No. 1.

Czecho-Slovakia was thrown to the wolves with cold-blooded cynicism by her guaranteed protectors. Let it be admitted—it was an execrable peace. Yet, peace it was and even the most dreadful peace must always be infinitely preferable to the most "glorious" war. Therein lies our sole consolation.

Meantime, pending the arrival of Crisis No. 2, the post-mortems on Crisis No. 1 come pouring in.

Facts Kept Secret

Miss Kirkpatrick is an American correspondent who was on the spot during the events leading to the Munich Agreement and her book is a piece of first-class reportage. It is obvious from what she tells us in her introductory chapter that Americans are better informed in regard to European events than we are ourselves:

In writing for an English paper one learns early that the story must be written from the point of view held by the newspaper. If the particular paper is a supporter of the Government, no criticism of Government policy must appear, and vice versa. American papers believe that the man on the spot knows more about the events taking place there, and accordingly print the story as he sends it... they do not try to make the story fit their editorial policy.

During the past months, more than one English paper has toned down stories from Vienna, Berlin, Prague, &c., because they were regarded as too "alarming" to be given to readers. This particular aspect of journalism has resulted, I believe, in the American public being better informed on European affairs than the English public.

At any rate Miss Kirkpatrick tones nothing down. The present writer learns for the first time, for instance, that Hitler's answers to the Prime Minister's proposals have not been made public. The first

THE VIEWS OF CONTRIBUTORS MUST NOT BE ASSUMED TO REPRESENT THE POLICY OF "PEACE NEWS" OR OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION.

answer is stated on good authority to have been rather startling. Hitler suggested that he should come to London! For obvious reasons, this suggestion had to be rejected. The temper of the country would have made it difficult for the British Government to guarantee the Führer's personal safety, and the possibility of incidents was too great to run the risk. Chamberlain then announced that he would go to Berchtesgaden.

In Chamberlain's speech to the House of Commons describing the Berchtesgaden conversations he did not mention the lesson in showmanship he received (and used to such advantage on the pre-Munich meeting of Parliament): early in the conversation a telegram was handed to Hitler. It told of a Sudeten massacre. Hitler showed it to Chamberlain to reinforce his demands for self-determination. Although Chamberlain refused to adopt a one-sided report, he was obviously impressed by Hitler's method.

Mussolini's reason for not mobilizing were obvious.

The story went about that King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio had refused to consider mobilization. The people showed even less enthusiasm for their German ally than ever before.

Neither did the common people of Germany want a war on the Sudeten issue.

As Chamberlain set out on the morning of September 22 for Godesberg, reports came in from Germany in increasing numbers suggesting that there was considerable discrepancy between the sentiments of the German people and those voiced in the controlled German press... They felt no real enthusiasm for the cause of the Sudeten Germans. Detachments of troops continually marching through Berlin, Dresden, and Munich seemed to display little martial spirit, while the spectators stood solidly by, showing no spontaneous inclination to cheer them. It was also stated that Himmler, Chief of the *Schutz Staffel* (Black Guards) and Gestapo, had reported to Hitler that feeling in the country was definitely opposed to war.

"Plans for Revolt in Germany"

All during the negotiations the German Government's policy was to keep the people in the dark.

Thus, after Chamberlain left Hitler's hotel at Godesberg, Goebbels was instructed to conceal from the German public what appeared to be a breakdown in the conversations. And when Roosevelt sent his appeal to Hitler and to Benes urging a peaceful settlement the German people were not aware of it till the following afternoon when the appeal was broadcast from London in German.

News had been pouring in from Germany during the past few days of mutinies in barracks, arrests, the resignation of Colonel Beck, &c. Some of these reports were doubtless exaggerated, but most were substantiated through foreign secret-service channels.

Most important of all, came information from an unimpeachable source that the underground opposition movement in Germany had laid elaborate plans for a revolt the moment Hitler ordered an invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. The army, it was reported, was full of anti-Nazi officers who would refuse to give the order to march. Sabotage on a large scale would disrupt German factories and communications, and Himmler's Gestapo would have its hands uncomfortably full.

Three regiments in the Siegfried Line, it was reported, had not been given their rifles, nor would they receive them until war began—so little did the Nazis trust them. The opposition believed that only a small portion of the Army would side with the Nazis, and that in two weeks the Nazi régime would be finished. The British Cabinet were aware of the plans of this underground movement and so far as one can tell, did not doubt its intentions.

Munich was a face-saving device for Hitler. On the Wednesday a deputation from the General Staff told him bluntly that they were not prepared for a major war, that they would obey the order to march but they would march in the ranks and not at the head of the army. Again, Hitler, in a conversation with the French Ambassador, revealed his fears that America might not remain neutral if he went ahead. And anyway, hadn't Chamberlain's last word been: "I feel certain that you can get all essentials without war and without delay"?

So to Munich he went as though forced against his better judgment by his regard for his dear old friend Benito Mussolini.

And the whole world knows what happened there... "Peace with honour!"

Miss Kirkpatrick's purpose has been to present the Crisis as seen by Americans both at home and abroad.

... the American people asked themselves what had happened to Britain and France to change their resistant attitude of May 21 to the defeatist attitude of September 19, when the Anglo-French plan paved the way for a complete surrender at Munich? Why was Ribbentrop so convinced that neither the French nor British Government would fight? ... the full information necessary to answer these questions correctly will never be available.

When the Munich conference was announced, Americans believed France and Britain had won. Hitler's bluff had been called. His General Staff and his people were opposed and his ally Mussolini had taken no military steps. ... He had, in the American view, lost the game. Why, then, did Chamberlain and Daladier, almost certain of Mussolini's support, not insist on terms which would at least have revealed to the German people the nature of the reverse their Führer had suffered? Instead Hitler was given... all he had demanded at Godesberg, and more. The United States is still groping for an explanation.

Journalists' Views

Four Days is described by its editor, Lord Killanin as a symposium by leading journalists from the major European capitals and the United States of what they felt and saw during those September days.

Rome, Prague, Paris, Berlin, Washington, and of course, London are figured; but not Moscow. Significant omission! Since when did Moscow cease to be a major European capital? His lordship, born 1914, *Sunday Dispatch* columnist, and recanted Oxford pacifist, does not condescend to explain. The book contains large quantities of very small beer, but is interesting chiefly by reason of the juxtaposed statements from Prague and Berlin.

For the rest, this discreetly selected bunch of special write-ups adds nothing to our enlightenment. They have all pretty much the same story to relate—the sense of tension in all countries during the four critical days, the comings and goings of the principal actors in the drama, the reactions of the common people to the threat of imminent war—all set forth in the most lurid journalese at their author's command.

Lord Killanin makes a great point of under that necessity.

informing us that, with the exception of "Barzini (correspondent of *Corriere della Sera*, awardee of Italian War Cross for valour in Ethiopia and contributor of Rome chapter in present volume) and my own colleague Wilson Broadbent who accompanied the Prime Minister on his three flights, none of the other contributors know each other. None of them saw what the other had written till the book was printed."

This beautiful assumption of flawless impartiality is as spurious as the writer's former assumption of pacifism since, given a contributor's paper, one has a fairly shrewd idea of what he will write on any political subject.

Colleague Broadbent, for instance, writes as one might expect almost any *Daily Mail* young man to write—a faithful gramophone record of his paper's Chamberlain-cum-Nazi policy—whilst the valorous Luigi Barzini, Jr. (29 years old we are assured, though by this sample of his stuff one might be pardoned for assuming he was at least twenty years younger than this) slobbers over Il Duce in a species of puppy-dog adoration that would be amusing if one were not sickened at the thought of even the most sycophantic of God's creatures descending to such abysmal depths of abject servility.

Role of Benes

The contribution of Rubert Ripka, Czech subject, justifies the publication of this book. He has brains and sensibility lacking in his collaborators and he tells the plain and moving story of his country's betrayal without any melodramatic trimmings. The remainder of the book can be taken as read.

In Defence of Dr. Benes and Czech Democracy is what its title implies although heaven knows Benes should require no defence in this country. No need for the present reviewer to tell those who have read the author's previous book, *The Last Five Hours of Austria*, that Eugene Lennhoff can write.

Here we are given the truth about Henlein, and the portrait is not a flattering one. Here we have the whole story of Germany's provocation between Berchtesgaden and Munich. If the story of the last hours of Austria made melancholy reading, this story of the ruin of Benes's life work makes sorrier reading still.

The story starts in the conference room at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919, where Eugene Lennhoff first met Dr. Benes. Lloyd George and the rest of the Big Four of that time were there. Of the Big Four only Lloyd George is still alive. He writes massive tomes, defending the peace treaties he helped to make. Benes shall never be under that necessity.

Men and Women Without a Country

Strangers Everywhere. By Pem. The Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.

WHY should I help a German refugee when there are hundreds of my own kinsmen unemployed, hungry, underfed, needing my help? We have all been asked that question in the past few months, we have all tried to answer it logically, sanely, unsentimentally. Here, I think, is our answer—one which must surely convince the most dispirited of our own unemployed:

"In reality, the sword of Damocles is always hanging over an émigré. Sometimes it falls, and you are deported. One morning an unstamp'd letter flutters down on the mat, or you are called to the police station, where you learn that you must leave whatever country you are living in at short notice. The world knows so many reasons why a tiresome foreigner should be expelled from a country!"

"So, on receiving the said letter, you have only one thought in your mind: where shall you go? Only yesterday your head was throbbing with too much thought about where next week's rent was to come from, or whether you could buy the shoes you needed so badly. Today all these urgent everyday cares are obliterated.

"Even problems of self-preservation recede into the background. You would willingly undertake without a moment's hesitation never to eat again, never to work again without permission, if only you could have the soil of a country under your feet once more. For the nightmare possibility of being carted back to his native land, where a training camp or concentration camp or even gaoi awaits him, stalks spectrally through the dreams of your émigré all over the world."

Pem is himself a refugee writing of refugees whom in many cases he has known intimately, yet he writes dispassionately—simply as an observer. He asks no pity for himself or his friends, he allows himself no bitterness. "The purpose of the book," he states in an author's note, "is to discuss emigration only as an aspect of human destiny—not as a great international problem. The political émigrés of today, who after all "may well be the legitimate rulers of tomorrow," have been deliberately excluded.

The fate of a score or so of human beings is worked out before us—the inevitable tragedy which overtook some; the astonishing success which others achieved in new countries; the ironic prank that fate played heedlessly on one; another who "found himself" only in exile; the man who may have been exile or who may have been spy—the author himself does not know. All these are vivid colourful portraits; collectively they make up a composite picture of appalling realism.

Vera Barnes

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WHEN SOLDIERS WERE BANNED FROM THE CHURCH

SPEAKING PERSONALLY

By Rev.
JAMES BARR, M.P.

WE HAVE seen how uncompromising was the opposition to war on the part of the great Church leaders of the first three centuries. That did not prevent them speaking at times, in common language, of righteous wars, or wars that had inflicted the judgment of God on nations or brought certain benefits in their train, or referring to the wars of Pagans in different terms from those they applied to Christian participation in war.

But Professor Cadoux, who has made great research and speaks with real authority on this subject, says:

"No Church writer before Athanasius (A.D. 296-373) ventured to say that it was not only lawful, but praiseworthy, to kill enemies in war, without the qualification—expressed or implied—that he was speaking of pagans only." (*The Early Christian Attitude to War*, page 246.)

Nor, according to the same authority, is there any reliable evidence for the presence of Christians in the Roman Army before A.D. 174. By the end of the second century a considerable number were on service, but even then, as we have seen from the writings of Tertullian and Origen, refusal to serve was the normal policy of the Christians.

A Term of Communion

RULES were early drawn up for the Government of the Church. These were constantly varied to suit differing modes of thought in different countries, and to embody concessions made from time to time.

In their more rigid forms some of these Canons of Church Order, such as "The Testament of our Lord," though dating as late as the middle of the fourth century, ordain without any qualification that if a soldier, or a magistrate who wielded the power of the sword, wished to be baptised, he must give up his military or quasi-military profession, otherwise he could not be received; that if a Catachumen or a baptized Christian became a soldier, he must be excluded from the Church; that, indeed, if he even cherished the desire to be a soldier, he must give over his intention, or be rejected by the Church.

★

If a soldier on service was converted to the Christian faith, Tertullian declared that he had a choice of but three courses, either an immediate abandonment of the military life, which he says "has been the course with many"; or all sorts of quibbling which "is not allowed even outside military service"; or martyrdom, from which even military service does not hold out exemption. (*De Corona*, Section 11.)

Cyprian (A.D. 200-258) declares that after the Eucharist has been lifted in the hand, that hand should not be spotted with the sword and with blood. (*On the Benefit of Patience*, Section 14.) At the first Church Council, that of Nicea, A.D. 325, thirteen years' penance was imposed on certain Christian soldiers who had resigned their posts in the army of the Emperor Licinius, and then resumed them. While Basil the Great (A.D. 329-379) thought it right to recommend those who had shed blood in war, "inasmuch as their hands are not pure, to abstain for three years from Communion." (*Epistles CLXXXVIII*, Section 13.)

Military Martyrs

FROM the end of the second century onwards, there are numerous instances of men being put to death either because they refused to enrol, or because they sought to leave the forces.

On March 12, A.D. 295, a Numidian Christian, Maximianus, 21 years of age, was brought before the Pro-Consul of Africa as one fit for military service. "I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight," he declared. He was forthwith slain with the sword; and it is significant that the Church proceeded to canonize him as a saint.

★

In A.D. 298 Marcellus, a centurion, insisted on resigning his office, threw down his military belt, and renounced his standards. When he was sentenced to death Cassianus, the Clerk of the Court, loudly protested and flung his writing materials on the ground declaring that the sentence was unjust. For this demonstration he paid with his life a few days afterwards.

Gibbon states that the accounts of the martyrdom of Maximian and Marcellus bear every mark of truth and authenticity. (*Decline and Fall*, Chapter 16.)

Pope Damasus I, who occupied the pontifical chair from A.D. 266 to 384, put up an epitaph to two Praetorian soldiers, Neureus and Achilleus, who were put to death for their refusal to fight; and the Pope's inscription on this notable war memorial ran thus:

"They had given their names to military service and were carrying on the cruel duty when they suddenly laid aside their madness, turned round and fled; they leave their general's impious camp, cast down their shields, helmets

Said Lactantius (about A.D. 250-325):

"Justice had no other reason for leaving the earth than the shedding of human blood. . . . In war justice itself is taken away, for justice cannot bear the tearing asunder of the human race, and, wherever arms have glittered, she must be put to flight and banished. . . . For how can a man be just who injures, who hates, who despises, who puts to death?" (*Divine Institutes* V, Chapters 9 and 6.)

Celsus said, then lawless and savage barbarians would get the upper hand everywhere. Origen replied:

"If, in the words of Celsus, 'they do as I do,' then it is evident that even the barbarians, when they yield to the Word of God, will become most obedient to the law, and most humane. . . . They will not war at all, being guarded by that divine power which promised to save five entire cities for the sake of fifty just persons." (*Against Celsus*, Book VIII, chapters 68 and 70.)

The Death Penalty

THE Early Fathers were as strongly opposed to Capital Punishment as they were to war. Cyprian (about A.D. 200-258), the great Bishop of Carthage, declared:

"It is not permitted the guiltless even to put the guilty to death" (*Epistle to Cornelius*, Section 2). For long Christians refused to serve as magistrates or prefects because these offices involved taking part in capital sentences, or inflicting capital penalties. Cadoux says that the instances of their holding such offices were very rare before the middle of the third century. The Emperor Julian (A.D. 331-363) removed all Christians from the offices of governor or prefect on the ground that their religion prevented them from adjudicating in cases of Capital Punishment. This is reason assigned by Socrates (A.D. 379-440) and other historians, and Gibbon says that "Julian maliciously reminded them that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the sword, either of justice or of war" (*Decline and Fall*, Chapter 23).

Sanctity of Human Life

FOR it was the same reverence for human life that prohibited at once the scaffold and the battlefield. And Lactantius has combined the two in a passage which is one of the great classics of the Early Church on this subject. It deals with the prohibition to kill:

"Thus it will be neither lawful for a just man to engage in warfare, since his warfare is justice itself, nor to accuse anyone of a capital charge because it makes no difference whether you put a man to death by word or rather by the sword, since it is the act of putting to death itself which is prohibited. Therefore with regard to this precept of God there ought to be no exception at all, for it is always unlawful to put to death a man whom God willed to be a sacred creature." (*Divine Institutes*, Book VI, chapter 20.)

Glimpses of Life

Abroad

In Sweden

THE people of Sweden are kindly, hospitable, and careful, though they may seem a trifle cold at first. They are fond of good food and know how to serve it, especially fish.

Let us take a look at Swedish homes. There are, of course, homes and apartments other than cooperative ones, but those were the ones I visited.

There are many cooperative apartments having three and five rooms. Each family has the use of the up-to-date laundry, club rooms, and restaurant. There is a playground for the youngest children with an attendant in charge. Also a garden. Many families have window boxes with petunias or geraniums in them. All this costs approximately £3 a month for the three-room apartments.

Well-dressed People

The Swedes all seemed to me to be well dressed. Some of them follow Hollywood styles and some Paris styles; but on the whole they dress quite individually. The lovely old-fashioned Swedish costumes are worn now only in the out-of-the-way districts on festival days and Sundays.

In Skansen, Stockholm's lovely park, there is a Tivoli, or amusement park, for those who want a gay time, a band-stand, restaurant, museums, and gardens for those who want to stroll around and listen to the music.

At the entrance, when I visited it, was a man possibly unemployed, though there are very few in Sweden, playing tunes on a saw.

I was really sorry to leave Stockholm. I took a little boat through the famous Göta Canal to Göteborg, where I took the train for Oslo.

Basque Children's Tour in Lancashire

ON Monday a party of Basque children from the Peace Pledge Union home at Langham commences a tour of Manchester and district during which they will give a series of concerts consisting of Spanish and Basque songs and dances.

Following is a complete programme of the tour, which has been organized by Thelma Niklaus in conjunction with several local PPU groups, the Women's International League, and the two Unions of the University of Manchester:—

February 27, DROYLSDEN; 7.30 p.m. Methodist School, Manchester Road; PPU.

February 28, MANCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; WIL.

March 1, WILMSLOW; 7.30 p.m. Water Lane Methodist School, Water Lane; PPU.

March 2, BLACKBURN; 7.45 p.m. YMCA Hall, Limbrick; PPU.

March 3, FALLOWFIELD; 7.30 p.m. Central School for Girls (Holy Innocents School), Wilmslow Road; PPU.

March 4, ANCOATS; 7.30 p.m. Manchester University Settlement, Every Street; PPU.

March 6, MANCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Manchester University, Oxford Road; University Unions.

March 7, GLOSSOP; 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, High Street; PPU.

March 8, MANCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Dalton Hall, Victoria Park; PPU and Students of the University.

Journalists and War

IF Munich had failed—if, in other words, Czechoslovakia had refused to pay the price of our peace—the newspapers of the world by now would have been busily engaged in fanning the flames of war.

Everywhere the journalistic profession would have been in the forefront of the battle. For today, still more so than in the time of the last war to end war, propaganda is the most powerful weapon in a nation's armoury. Men are not normally given to hatred, and it takes a lot of high-powered hate-propaganda to induce them to drop bombs on sleeping cities or to spit a fellow-human on a clumsy bayonet.

We have only to remember the lies that were told during the closing years of the Great War to realize that in war only those who tell the biggest lies have any chance of winning. In wartime men cannot bear to hear the truth; it is too terrible. They must be intoxicated with deep draughts of the most primitive passion; they must be maddened by tales of cruelty and brutal lust.

Only when they have ceased to think can they fling themselves wholeheartedly

into the struggle. Only when their reasoning processes have been so deadened by long-continued doses of propaganda—propaganda devoted to revealing the "enemy" as monsters in human shape, bloodthirsty murderers, maniacs and sex-perverts—can they bring themselves to bomb and shoot and stab with real gusto.

If Munich had failed, the lie-factories would have been working overtime in the cause of international antagonism. Some few journalists might have stood against the stream. Most, however, would have succumbed, for not only must a journalist, like other men, eat, but he is also the victim of his own persuasions.

Perhaps most of the men who would have written the distorted reports and hate-saturated leaders would have believed, or at least half-believed, the views they propounded. No-one can be a first-class propagandist who does not fall for his own propaganda.

In a world of the half-educated the journalist has to scream and scariify, exaggerate and shock. In peacetime he seizes the opportunities afforded him by private

scandal and public grief to see what he can do to arouse the emotions of the reader. But sex crimes and pit disasters, railway smashes and typhoons, are not of daily occurrence. Only when war "breaks" is there a sufficiency of horrors to provide a meal on which to breakfast, dine, and sup.

From such a prostitution of the journalist's power we have been happily preserved—a fact which should not be forgotten when we come to make out the balance sheet of the crisis period. But the danger is an ever-present one, and no hastily-arranged understanding can serve to dispel it.

The only preventive of propagandist licence is an enlightened public opinion; and not the least of the dangers inherent in our present state is that, to so large an extent, the press is the mouthpiece of the influences and interests that, openly or blindly, lead men along the path to war.

E. Royston Pike

John Barclay on NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER

ATTER March 3, 96 Regent Street will no longer be our headquarters. We shall all be sorry to say goodbye. It has become a "second home" to many of us and its friendly and overcrowded condition has made us very much a family. It must be with just such feelings that a family in a crowded tenement moves to the spaciousness of a new council house.

Without being sentimental, 96 Regent Street has associations which no other place can have. Dick Sheppard so often filled its rooms with his personality and spirit that it is impossible to recreate just the same atmosphere in any new place.

But do we want to? Don't we need a new and vigorous spirit of our own, a spirit conscious of its heritage and tradition but free and adventurous, seeking new worlds to conquer? I have every sympathy with those of our staff who like to work in the neighbourhood of the West End shops; it will not be quite so easy to buy what you want when you come to see us at 6 Endsleigh Street, but on the other hand when you come to see us in future you will be in a centre owned and controlled by fellow pacifists.

The Dick Sheppard House (like the Brown House of Munich!) may be the beginning of a new régime. The Peace Pledge Union is growing rapidly. It will depend on its members how rapid this growth will be in the future.

Glance back at the 2½ years that have passed since we came to No. 96. In

September, 1936, we had 156 groups scattered over the length and breadth of the country; by December, 1937, these had risen to 750, and on December 31, 1938, we

were sending out weekly messages to 1,150 groups in all parts of this country.

Think of the expansion from one floor to two floors; from an organization that nobody knew to one which is known everywhere you go.

Remember the courage of its founder, Dick Sheppard, and his amazing personality which extended far beyond the influence of his actual person. Tens of thousands knew him on the wireless as a voice, and millions all over the world have been influenced by his gay spirit.

Our new move must be symbolic of all that gaiety and courage. We have a great heritage and a wonderful opportunity. Instead of 150 groups, 1,150; instead of one room, a house of our own; instead of one leader, the inspiration which comes from hundreds

in a centre owned and controlled by fellow pacifists.

** * *

If you have Faith, now is the time to show it. Give us your support in every

The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Notes

way you can and we shall be able to gain the ear of millions. We need initiative and we need money. One without the other is hampered and frustrated. A hundred new ideas may come into the office, all of which are sound, practical and capable of execution. Only one can be put into operation because there is no money behind us for production. Posters which can be put on seven tube stations should be on 7,000 hoardings but without the money nothing can be done.

On March 6, in the afternoon, the new house will be open for those who care to come. Make a point of coming to see us during the next three or four weeks and bring with you ideas and promises of support which will turn the new centre into a thriving industry of peace propaganda.

* * *

There are three dates which I want to draw your attention to in closing—March 3, not only the day of our removal from here but also the date of the great meeting at Friends House for inaugurating the new campaign throughout the country. I have free tickets for distribution to those members of the public who are not pacifists. Please write for them and distribute them as widely as you can.

March 15, the PPU dance in the Empire Restaurant (facing Victoria Station), tickets, 2s. 6d. each, can be had from me. And finally, April 15 and 16 the AGM. Please let me have names of delegates as soon as possible so that hospitality can be arranged.

Remember the new address, after March 3: Dick Sheppard House, No. 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Under the Oak Tree

A CHILD'S FAREWELL

By Theo Wills

ESCABECHE! Two, four, six! Wash up, all of you!" This singular utterance, translated from the Spanish, is nothing more nor less than the last tender message of a child returning to Spain to her friends left behind at Basque House. It was spoken through the window of a big train at Victoria, crowded with children whose home conditions were considered to warrant their repatriation. That farewell was the most moving I, for one, have ever taken part in.

The utterance requires explanation. "Escabache" is a kind of pickled fish. It was a good while after "lights out" and the girls in dormitory twelve were regaling themselves with memories of delicacies they had sometimes enjoyed before the war and had just reached the topic of escabache. Enter to them Senorita Celia, finds them talking after hours, counts them, "two, four, six," and announces the penalty, washing-up fatigue tomorrow.

On the delicate question of punishment, more, perhaps, another day. In proof that any punishments resorted to at Basque House are not of the kind that rattle, we have this case of a child remembering hers with tender amusement. When the message was conveyed to the other children at dinner-time, it brought the house down.

This happened a good many months ago. Those were the last children we could, as yet, humanely send back. Those we have we must hold, or see all our salvage work undone.

Meanwhile Basque House is in grave need of all the extra support it can obtain. If you are not already supporting us to the limit of your capacity, please do so now, either by isolated or regular donations.

Moreover, talking about washing up, we need tea-towels. Also, dinner-plates; small plates; enamel mugs; cutlery; cups and saucers; clothing always, especially underclothing; overalls; wool; exercise-books; pencils; football-boots; and new, bright cloth for concert dresses. These last get funds in our concerts and tours.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our protégés at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Rickmansworth and Croxley Green group having concluded a study of Aldo Huxley's *Ends and Means*, will continue to meet as a study circle, in members' houses, every other week, usually on Fridays, 8.15 to 10.15 p.m. Future meetings include a study of the *Van Zeeland Report*. Leader H. E. Seed, Upmeads, The Drive, Rickmansworth.

Peckham.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House.

Poster Parades

Bournemouth.—Special parade for National Petition Week on February 25. All members meet Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, at 3.15 p.m.

Volunteers wanted for special parades to awaken public interest in the sufferings of Sudeten refugees. Held every Monday from 6.45 p.m. from Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, W.1. Refreshments before and after the parade obtainable at the club.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Birmingham.—Volunteers wanted for mass selling on March 4 from 2.30 to 4 p.m. Meet at Priory Rooms, Upper Priory (near Lewis's). Names to Mrs. Cheney, 129 St. Bernard's Road, Olton, Birmingham 27.

Kings Heath.—Selling in this district has commenced. More sellers are required between 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays. Write A. G. Sparkes, 43 Forest Road, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

Bradford.—Volunteers wanted every Saturday. Meet outside Brown and Muff's (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.30 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ison, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Sheffield.—Urgent, on Fridays, between 5.45 and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 23, Change Alley, Sheffield, 1, not later than the previous Monday.

Miscellaneous

Bromsgrove, Barnt Green and Rednal. New group. Write, phone, or call: Mrs. Scarnell Lean, Studholme, Tawling Road, Rednal, near Birmingham. Tel. Hillside 1739.

Will all interested in formation of a group in Smethwick please communicate with: Eric S. Sandford, 44 Broomfield, Smethwick, Staffs.

Offers of hospitality for refugee friends urgently needed from **London Area**, particularly for short periods of a night or two, to take them on arrival in London before travelling on to other parts of the country. Write to: War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

West Kent Region are conducting a ramble on February 26. Meet at the "Bull," Farningham, at 11 a.m. Signatories and friends from neighbouring groups invited.

East Hants and West Surrey Region

THERE are now eleven groups in the East Hants and West Surrey Region. In the last month, Guildford, Godalming and Farncombe joined.

A one-day school on "Non Violence" is to be held at Alton on March 26, in conjunction with the West Hants Region. R. H. Ward will conduct the school. Future work includes help for refugees. George Lansbury has been booked for Portsmouth in February, 1940.

Alton has a work party once a month making clothes for a local Basque Home. Other meetings in the month are devoted to business, study circle, and a public speaker.

At the second annual meeting recently it was reported that collections at meetings have averaged 4s 5d. a week; 10s. has been collected weekly for the group's adopted Basque at Langham; and the selling of *Peace News* once a week in the street has paid its way. Margaret Compton, 36 Ackender Road, Alton, is the new Group Leader.

Wellingborough Meeting

COUNCILLOR J. C. DEMPSEY, speaking at a meeting of the Wellingborough group, said that democracy was in retreat.

"Civilization is in such a state," he said, "that we are turning away from Christianity. We say we have such a wonderful civilization that God can go out now; we can do without him. But unless we keep in touch with God, civilization will perish."

"Shall it be a supreme God or a supreme State? That is the greatest question now facing the world."

Vera Brittain at Newcastle

AN audience of about 2,000 assembled to hear Miss Vera Brittain and Mr. Maurice Brown at a meeting held by the Newcastle-on-Tyne PPU last week.

University News

Oxford Students Give a Lead

THE Oxford University Pacifist Association is without doubt one of the most wide awake of university pacifist organizations. During this term they have already held several important meetings, and more are to come.

The first meeting was addressed by Ben Greene, who spoke on "The Struggle for Peace and Democracy." He stressed the importance of the pacifist movement in maintaining a real peace testimony since the Labour Party, for which at one time humanity, justice and peace were guiding principles, had apparently moved so far from the position it once had held.

Professor Hawkins (Reading University) was unable to be present at the next meeting so the vital question of National Service was discussed.

The association was next addressed by William R. Hughes, who has been in Germany. He pointed out the importance of maintaining a spirit of friendliness toward the German people.

There was a large meeting to hear Laurence Housman, who dealt with the question of the corrupting influence of the exercise of power over others, with particular reference to the government of the British Empire, which was partly our responsibility.

Meanwhile the association runs several study groups and is engaged in considerable activity in the campaign for the New Peace Conference.

A number of members are considering taking a course of first aid as a valuable equipment for service in peace time.

Apologies to the Pacifist Group of Bedford College, London, for the erroneous statement last week that they were not recognized by their college. They were in fact one of the first recognized groups in London University.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)
HAVERFORDWEST: 7.30 p.m. Gold Room; Maurice Rowntree; PPU.
ROTHAMPSHIRE: 7.30 p.m. Temperance Hall, Wellgate; Wilfred Wellock and Stanley Price (chairman); PPU.
NEWPORT: 7.45 p.m. Summerhill Baptist Church; Frank Hancock on "National Service"; Newport Peace Fellowship.
BRIXHAM: 8 p.m. Social Service Centre; annual general meeting; PPU.
GRAVESEND: 8 p.m. The Grove; debate on "That Fascism would be ineffectively met by Pacifism"; for: M. Wiles and Cnr. Neil Smith; against: Ruth Heughan and Donald Port; chairman: A. Bradford; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Fenner Brockway on "Socialism and Internationalism"; PPU.
WEMBLEY: 8 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, High Road; James Avery Joyce; PPU.
WORCESTER: 8 p.m. Guildhall; Professor C. E. M. Joad on "Why War? A Constructive Policy"; PPU.
WESTCLIFF: 8 p.m. Avenue Baptist Church; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; Baptist Pacifist Fellowship.

Tomorrow (Saturday)
NEWTON ABBOT: 3 p.m. Methodist Schoolroom (opposite War Memorial); Devon annual conference; Roy Walker; PPU.
RAWTENSTALL: 3 p.m. Longholme Chapel; Parliamentary Pacifist Group Convention; speakers include Mrs. Helen Byles Ford, Wilfred Wellock and Canon Stuart Morris; chairman: James Riley; further details and tickets (1s. each) from Miss H. Crabtree, 197 Bacup Road, Rawtenstall, Rossendale.
BOLTON: 3.30 and 6.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Tipping Street; Dr. Sandler and Mr. Norman Jacobs; PPU.

Sunday, Feb. 26
PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m. Swathmore Hall, Mutley; Roy Walker; PPU.
LETCWORTH: 8 p.m. Palace Cinema; Lord Arnold and Henry Carter; Letchworth Brotherhood Orchestra; PPU.
TIVERTON: 8.15 p.m. War Memorial Hall; Roy Walker; PPU.

Monday, Feb. 27
AYLESBURY: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Rickfords Hill; John Barclay; social evening; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall; Canon Charles E. Raven, Dr. Donald O. Soper and Miss Vera Brittain; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.
BLACKBURN: 7.45 p.m. YMCA, Limbrick; Miss D. Baker on "The Van Zeland Report"; PPU.
WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA: 7.45 p.m. St. Andrew's Church Hall; Electric Avenue (corner of Westborough Road); film show of Kameradschaft and Blow Bugles Blow; ILP and PPU.
HIGHGATE: 8 p.m. Archway Central Hall; George Lansbury, J. Stephenson Rowntree and Rev. David Mace (chairman); FoR.
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m. Knotty Ash Congregational Church; discussion on "Affirmations of London Congress of Christian Pacifists"; Arthur Lewis; FoR.

Tuesday, Feb. 28
TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. Open-air Meeting; Jomo Kenyatta and Preston Benson; City PPU group.
LONDON, N.W.1: 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; H. S. Keigwin on "Education in Africa"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
TAUNTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bath Place; speaker: Warden of Basque Children's Home, Street, Somerset; Rev. Lee (chairman); PPU.
MANCHESTER: 7.45 p.m. Free Trade Hall; Lord Ponsonby, Professor C. E. M. Joad and Miss Mary Gamble; chairman: George A. Sutherland; PPU.
PINER: 8 p.m. Frank Smith's Bakery, 49 Bridge Street; W. G. Millman on "National Service"; George Watson (chairman); PPU.

Wednesday, March 1
SALCOMBE, Devon: 7 p.m. Wesley Hall; W. B. Curry and Francis Murch (chairman); PPU and Toc H.
LINCOLN: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Street; Rev. Leslie Artingstall and Rev. F. M. James (chairman); FoR.
BOURNEMOUTH: 8 p.m. Lecture Hall, Punshion Memorial Church, Richmond Hill; Rev. Bryan Reed on "Christian Pacifism"; FoR.
NEW SOUTHGATE: 8 p.m. Springfield Hall, Springfield Road; John Stephens and Charles Dering on "Christianity and Power Politics"; Society of Friends.
WORTHING: 8 p.m. W. H. Smith's, South Street; R. H. Ward on "The Human Factor"; PPU.
OXFORD: 8.15 p.m. Town Hall Assembly Rooms; Rev. Reginald Sorensen and Rev. James Barr; Oxford University Pacifist Association.

Thursday, March 2
SWINDON: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Clarence Street; Canon Stuart Morris and Rev. C. H. Cleal (chairman); PPU.
WORCESTER PARK: 8 p.m. St. Philip's Hall, Lindsay Road; Andrew Stewart, Miss Sybil Morrison and John Barclay (chairman); PPU.

Friday, Mar. 3
EAST HAM: 8 p.m. Central Hall, Barking Road; George Lansbury, Rev. R. Sorensen and Rev. A. E. Binks (chairman); PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. Endsleigh Gardens; Cecil Wilson on "The Work of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group"; PPU.
SHIRLEY: 8 p.m. Benson School, West Way; Professor A. N. Tucker on "The History of the Colonial Problem"; PPU.

What does **PPU** stand for?

3. METHOD

*I*t is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union, What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.

It stands instead for the method of non-violent resistance, and it aims at so working out the technique of non-violent resistance that it will set the new spirit free and create the new attitude in the world. The Peace Pledge Union is not a specifically Christian movement. There is no credal or sectarian condition of membership. But it asserts pacifism as a faith, for in denying the power of material force it appeals to spiritual and moral power. It is a fellowship of men and women who are prepared to study constructive peace-making, to become enthusiastic peace-makers, and to accept such self-discipline as will be necessary if we are to repudiate all our relationships with the destructive method of violence, and prove the redeeming power of love.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:
 I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
 Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

Group News from the Four Corners

(continued from page 10)

THE Stoke-on-Trent group now has its own bulletin, entitled *Peaceway*. The first issue was purely type-written and duplicated (with the inevitable smudges), but with their second issue published last month they launched out into a much better publication which included *Group News*, an article on "District Organization," another on the "Crisis," and yet another by T. W. Kent entitled "Ends."

The publishers have already had much criticism on their new venture but point out that it would be very helpful if members would make their criticism constructive as well as destructive.

Welwyn Garden City Annual Meeting

THE secretary of the Welwyn Garden City group reported at the annual general meeting that the activities of the group now ranged over study and discussion groups, publicity and speakers' groups, and a first-aid class.

During the past year there was an increase of forty members, and a new group was formed in Welwyn.

The concerted activity had made for fellowship, so that from the wider efforts for peace there had sprung a comradeship which had made the work an adventure.

Tomorrow is Gala Day at Bournemouth

SINCE the crisis members of the Bournemouth group have been distributing literature in all surrounding districts. The response numerically has not been very great, but members feel that it must have assisted in helping to form public opinion.

The Mayor has granted the group permission to use the council's kiosk in the Square tomorrow and members intend to make it a real PPU Gala Day. Among other things they are arranging to hold a mass poster parade.

Durham Peace Shop

DURHAM members recently organized a Peace Shop and kept it open for a week. As a result of their labours eighteen pledge cards were signed and £4 worth of literature was sold.

Most of the material used in the shop has been kept and is offered to any group making a similar

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

1½d. per word, minimum 2s Box Number 6d. extra

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ACCOMMODATION

To Let

CHEERFUL OFFICE ACCOMMODATION in North London. Suitable for use of progressive or peace society. Use of typewriter and duplicator. Apply Box 151, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

GARLIC NATURE-CURE TREATMENT for rheumatism. With a pure diet, no better remedy for rheumatism than garlic is known to medical science. "Alysol" tablets and liquid contain the antiseptic purifying power of garlic without that garlic smell. "Alysol" does not taint breath or body. No animal substance. No drug effect. Powerful but harmless. Trial box 3s. or 3 months supply 24s., post free from G. Millwood, Boxhill Road, Tadworth, Surrey.

KINGSTON, EDINBURGH, The Fountainhead of Modern Nature Cure (Health Home and Training Centre). President: James C. Thomson. Particulars from the Secretary, Kingston, Edinburgh, 9.

LECTURES

DEMOCRACY AND THE LIBERAL METHOD, by Sir Norman Angell. Wednesday, March 1, at 8 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. F.P.S.I.

DRAMA

NEW SOUTHGATE PAX PLAYERS. Available certain days from March 20, to give two-act and one-act plays (*Homicide*, by Hedley Quant; *A Bird of Passage*, by Martin Armstrong) for expenses only. Secretaries write: Mrs. R. Dale, 76 Blake Road, London, N.11.

LITERARY

AUTHORS. Established and experienced Agent negotiates MSS on commission. No charges. Book work especially sought. Prospectus for stamp. Fleet Street Literary Agency, Sentinel House, Southampton Street, London.

MEETINGS, &c.

JAMES MAXTON and James H. Hudson on "National Service," City Hall, Glasgow, 2.30 p.m., March 5. Rev. G. MacLeod, Rev. J. Hutchinson Cockburn and Gerald Bailey on "National Petition," Engineers' Institute, 39 Elmbank Crescent, Glasgow, C.2, 8 p.m., February 28.

PRINTING

HANDBILLS 3s. per 1,000. Attractively printed for your next public meeting. Size 7½ by 5. Satisfaction assured. Free delivery. Send for particulars and samples. C. F. Ducret, (PPU member), Cargreen Road, London, S.E.25.

PUBLICATIONS

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN GERMANY, by Sidney H. Moore, M.A., is the leading article in *The Sign-Post* for March. Send for a copy, 2d. post free. From the secretary, *Sign-Post*, Wrenthorpe Mission, Wrenthorpe, Wakefield, Yorks.

SITUATIONS

Wanted

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THEIR FIRST SQUARE MEAL

Unemployed and Refugees at The Ritz

(continued from page 1, col. 3)

The police were unable to disperse the large crowd which thronged the road in front of the restaurant, and one inspector looked askance when informed by Canon Morris, who was standing in the Ritz vestibule: "These men are our guests."

"What?" he asked in astonishment. "All of them?"

The chosen six were allowed to enter the restaurant, and the party sat down at a large round table in the centre of the floor.

The meal consisted of grape fruit, tomato soup, turbot with mushroom sauce, tornados of beef with peas and potatoes, fruit salad, ice cream and pastries. It cost 8s. 6d. per head.

The luncheon was organized by David Spreckley. It was not officially under the auspices of the PPU.

Speaking to a *Peace News* representative after the luncheon John Barclay said that their twelve guests had enjoyed the meal immensely. Most of them had never before even seen food such as they had, far less tasted it.

He paid high tribute to the management of the Ritz, who spared no pains to ensure that the occasion would be a memorable one for the unemployed and the refugees.



On the steps of the Ritz . . . three of the PPU members who entertained unemployed and refugees to luncheon on Tuesday, with some of their guests. On the extreme left is Dr. Donald Soper, and on the extreme right, John Barclay; third from left at the back is Maurice L. Rountree.

"Consult the Natives": Plea to Premier

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society has been given permission by the Government to issue to the press an appeal addressed to the Prime Minister on the question of the transfer of Colonial territory.

The appeal, which is signed by nearly a hundred prominent people, including Lord Sanderson, T. Edmund Harvey, the Rev. Reginald Sorensen and Cecil H. Wilson, states that, "We do not necessarily suggest the taking of a plebiscite in the ordinary acceptance of the term. But there should be no difficulty in obtaining, by means of an impartial Commission, the predominant wishes of the inhabitants. More especially would this be the case if such Commission included either native members or some persons appointed specially to represent the native standpoint."

"FASCISM comes like this" might well have been the slogan of the Youth and Peace Rally at the Empress Stadium, London, last Sunday. It is clear that the organizers have learnt nothing from the further collapse of the doctrine of collective security over the last months and are still wedded to the illusion that democracy can beat the fascists at their own game and with their own weapons.

No effort was spared to impress upon the mind of the individual that he was an essential cog in the war machine which—provided Mr. Chamberlain can hand over his controls to a militant Winston Churchill or Duff Cooper—can grind the dictators to powder in a trice.

The pageantry was very well done—thereby adding to the pathos that so much youthful determination and self-sacrifice should have been misdirected to such futile and negative objectives. Social justice and the Charter of Youth Rights were rightly stressed by speech and banner, but there was no economist present to explain the fundamental contradiction between the social justice aspect of the youth policy and its insistence on more and better arms. Nor were such inconvenient details as how ARP can be improved and abolished at the same time allowed to blur the main thesis.

As In 1914

ALTOGETHER, Hitler and Mussolini must have congratulated themselves on inducing British youth to follow their lead; and Chamberlain and Sir John Anderson could well afford to overlook the studied abuse poured on their heads, since here, in the names of "democracy," "freedom," and all the question-begging vocabulary of 1914, young Britain was once again being marshalled to fight the old men's wars, with the old men's weapons and the old men's mentality.

The pity of this sort of "thing" is that one is reluctant to criticize the efforts of young men and women who, however limited and prejudiced their range of thinking, are transparently

A Pacifist Commentary

Youth Ready to March :: Welfare of Palestine

honest and sincere in their intentions to "do something" worth while for peace. Fortunately, the criticism coming from the pacifist movement can nowadays take an increasingly concrete and constructive form.

The drive for "Peace Service," for example—the innumerable activities the individual can engage in, locally, nationally, and internationally, making toward world order and cooperation, appealing above all to youth—was accorded unanimous support by the last meeting of London Peace Pledge Union Group Leaders, and is now being discussed throughout the country. Based, as it is, on the absolute rejection of the war system, the individual can concentrate all his intelligence and energies on the task of peaceful change and social justice.

Palestine Conference

THE issue of Jewish immigration seems to be the stumbling block to the reaching of a compromise at the London talks between representatives of Arabs, Jews and the British Government.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was expected to report accordingly to the Cabinet on Wednesday. The next step will doubtless be for the Government to produce its own solution. Indications are that this will not be a long-term one, and that it will be influenced by strategic considerations.

Should this prove to be the case, it will mean a continuation of the policy of putting our own interests before the welfare of Palestine, which has been an important factor in producing the present situation.

P.P.U. Moves Next Week

THE Peace Pledge Union will be changing its headquarters on Friday and Saturday, March 3 and 4. Owing to the necessary packing that will have to be done before these dates, the following information should be noted:

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT will be closed to callers on March 1, and will re-open on March 7, at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. During this period no orders can be dealt with either by post or by callers.

CORRESPONDENCE: This is bound to be delayed, but every attempt will be made to deal with all letters as promptly as possible.

96 REGENT STREET: The offices will be closed to inquiries on March 3 and 4.

6 ENDSLEIGH STREET: The new offices will open on Monday afternoon, March 6. (Telephone: Euston 5501-2-3.)

The Race To Bankruptcy

(continued from page 1, col. 2)

Many leading men in all lands, especially here in Britain, have come over to our side and are talking of a peace conference now—a peace conference to avert war.

The Spanish tragedy as I write appears to be on the way to its end. Who will ever be able to describe the heroism, courage, and sacrifice this terrible struggle of brother against brother has brought into being? No person possessed of an ounce of chivalry will fail to hope and pray that very soon now the people of Spain will be free of all foreign invaders, and Spaniards of all classes, sects and creeds will settle down to the task of rebuilding the national life.

"Zero Hour" Prophecies

So, though we deplore the terrible plight which our nation and all Europe, Asia and America is facing, let us preserve our faith. All we hope for is not yet lost. No-one knows better than I do the personal and public worries and perplexity which many thousands of us are facing; even so, let us determine still to remain optimists.

Experts have told us again when we should reach "zero hour." Let us make up our minds we will not attempt to cross any bridge until we come to it.

I am no "ostrich"; my life is too realistic. I know what many people are enduring today, the mental, moral and material losses many are sustaining. Nevertheless, comrades, I bid you keep going with our own propaganda. Don't worry if we cannot all repeat shibboleths in the same way, and all of us are not able to see clearly where our duty will lead us in such matters as aid for the stricken ones if war should come. In all cases of doubt it is best to follow our own intuitive mind.

No-one can give us a conscience, and no-one can interpret our mind except ourselves. My conviction, I repeat, is that all we hoped and prayed for is not lost.

Let us concentrate not on figures but on the alleged causes which we are told make this expenditure necessary, and convert our fellow citizens to our gospel of peace based on international cooperation for service.

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